Studies on Orissan History, **Vol. II**

ORISSAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

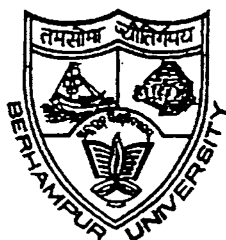
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EDITORIAL

I

Historical writings on Orissan history and culture started in the 19th century during the colonial period. The British administrators-cum-scholars such as Andrew Sterling, William Wilson Hunter, George Toynbee and John Beams were the pioneers in this field. The focal point of their research was the cultural legacy of ancient Orissa manifested in antiquities, archaeological remains, temples, religious developments etc. They based their writings on the limited available source materials, informations, myths and legends with colonial bias. Therefore, we find many historical errors and distortions of Orissan history and culture in their works.

A. Sterling was the first British historian of Orissa. He published *An Account Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper or Cuttack,* in 1825. In this paper, he depended too much upon the legendary accounts on the history of Orissa which led him into lopsided conclusions. In 1872, Sir William Wilson Hunter published *Orissa ; or the Vicissitudes of an Indian* Province *Under Native and British Rule* in two volumes. In this work, he provides the information collected from the temple chronicles and popular legends. He has not only dealt with the cultural history of Orissa but also discussed the British administration in Orissa. Regarding the temple art of Orissa, Hunter evinces typically a European racial prejudice towards the natives by subordinating every manifestation of Indian art to Greeck classicism. Even while appreciating the beauty of the Sun temple at Konark, he refused to accept the indigenous origin of its sculptures. George Toynbee, the then Commissioner of Orissa, published *A Sketch of the History of Orissa (1803-1828)* in 1873 which deals with the military occupation of the province and subsequent measures to suppress agrarian disturbances. John Beams also wrote a series of articles on the history, culture, social institutions of Orissa, and Oriya language in *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in the years 1871-73. His article on "Notes on the History of Orissa under Muhammadan, Maratha and English Rule" was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1883.

While writing on the history and culture of Orissa, these European historians depended largely on the archival materials as well as on the vernacular interpreters and Pandits who had obviously no adequate scholarship in modern scientific research. They, definitely,

made no exhaustive studies of the then available sources and relied on mythologies, legends, and evidences like *Madala Panji*, the temple chronicle at Puri which later on proved unhistorical with the discovery of new epigraphical records. Their observations regarding the successive Hindu, Muslim and Maratha rulers in Orissa were vitiated by the self interests of an alien foreign ruler ignorant of the historical tradition and cultural values of the people they ruled. But, in spite of the major drawbacks, their works represent pioneering attempts at highlighting Orissa's past with an emphasis on the different aspects of her history and culture. Their works generated much interest among the freethinking scholars so as to inspire them to carry out their research and throw more light on Orissan history.

Among the Indian scholars who have made significant contribution to the study of Orissan history in the later part of the 19th century were Rajendra Lal Mitra, Man Mohan Chakravarty and Pyari Mohan Acharya. Among them, R.L. Mitra was the pioneer in the study of Orissan archaeology. His two volumes, *Antiquities of Orissa* were published respectively in 1875 and 1880. The main objective of his work was to secure an accurate description of the monuments illustrated by plans, measurements with drawings or photographs. Mitra had a strong conviction that the foundation of Orissan art was laid on the canons of *Silpasastras*.

Pyari Mohan Acharya was the first Oriya scholar to write Orissan history. His *Utkalara Itihasa* written in Oriya was published as a textbook in the secondary schools of Orissa. The work was the first attempt to write an authentic, unbiased history of Orissa. He has not over glorified Orissan history. The most important fact is that, in his writing, he has differentiated the real history from legend and has rejected the *Madala Panji* as an authentic source for Orissan history. On the other hand, he has depicted the true nature of Orissan life and culture by describing early Orissan dress style, ornaments, food habits, social and religious traditions etc.

M.M. Chakravarti has made significant contribution to the study of Orissan inscriptions. He has edited and analysed the available copper plate records on the basis of scientific research. His most important work, "Chronology of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Orissa", was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1903. Here, he has not only solved many intricate problems concerning the Ganga chronology but also proved that the history of the Gangas as presented in the *Madala Panji* is inaccurate and false.

At the turn of the 20^{th} century, Oriya historical literature started growing in volumes in an atmosphere of growing nationalism. History was used to inspire the general masses including the spirit of the people in patriotism and nationalism by reminding them of their glorious cultural heritage. In this period, Orissa was looking forward to establish her separate identity through a mass movement for the amalgamation of all the Oriya speaking areas into a separate province. This has been reflected in the historical writings on Orissa in the subsequent periods.

Nagendranath Basu published, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj* in 1912 which is a notable work on the archaeological remains in the state of Mayurbhanj. He has made an extensive field survey and brought to our notice the rich antiquities, temples and monuments of the state of Mayurbhanj.

Man Mohan Ganguly wrote, *Orissa and Her Remains* in 1912. Ganguly, a staunch nationalist, devoted his time and energy to counter the view of the European scholars that the *Yavanas,* whom they have identified with the Asiatic Greeks, ruled Orissa and taught the Oriyas all the fine arts. He has forcefully stressed: "Orissan architects were superior to their Greek or Roman brothers in different types of ornaments used".

Bijay Chandra Mazumdar has glorified the history of Orissa in his *Orissa in the Making* which was published in 1925. Though he attempted to utilize the available archaeological materials in his work, he failed to depict a true picture of Orissan history. He followed the traditional approach, by searching for a golden period in Orissa during the Suryavaṁsi period. In his opinion, Orissa reached the zenith of glory in empire building, literature, architecture, and culture.

The two prominent Oriya historians who wielded their pen against the distortion of Orissa's history and culture by the European scholars, are Jagabandhu Sinha and Krupasindhu Misra. They were staunch Oriya nationalists and champions of Orissa's cultural past. Jagabandhu Sinha's *Prachina Utkala,* published in 1929, reflects his extreme nationalistic ideas. In his work, he has reminded the Oriya people of their glorious cultural as well as military heritage. He has also tried to establish the excellence of Oriya literature and Jagannatha cult in India. Krupasindhu Mishra, who belonged to the Satyabadi group, wrote *Utkala Itihasa* in 1933. In his work, in order to glorify, he has pushed the antiquity of

Orissa backward by five thousand years. In his opinion, Orissan history begins with the *Mahabharata* period, and to prove his hypothesis, he has used evidences from the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranic* literature.

The first systematic and scientific attempt to write the history of Orissa from the prehistoric times to the British period was made by R.D.Banerjee. The two volumes of his *History of Orissa* were published in 1930-31. He has based his work chiefly on the archaeological and archival data. He is the first scholar on Orissan history to have pursued to have a scientific method to write the history. Though some of the findings of Banerjee seem outdated now, particularly in the context of the new historical findings, his analysis and interpretation gave new insights into the study of the history of Orissa in a more systematic and scientific way.

Following him, Pandit Binayak Mishra made an important contribution to Orissan history by utilizing inscriptional sources of the early medieval dynasties of Orissa. He brought the Bhaumakara dynasty and their feudatories to limelight by publishing *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings* and *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa* in 1934 and 1936 respectively.

In the meantime, more source materials on Orissan history and culture came to light with the discovery of a number of archaeological sources such as inscriptions in the form of land grant charters, numismatic sources etc. In this connection, mention can be made of scholars like Man Mohan Chakravarty, J.F. Fleet, K.P. Jayaswal and Beni Madhava Barua. Fleet edited the copper plate inscriptions of the Somavamsi Kings and made an attempt to determine their chronology wich was published in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol.III in 1894/95, which formed an authentic source of Orissan history. Apart from them, K.P. Jayaswal, R.D. Banarjee, and Beni Madhab Barua studied Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, and thereby enriched the early history of Orissa. K.P. Jayaswal and R.D. Banarjee's joint paper "Hathigumpha Inscription of the Emperor Kharavela (173 B.C. – 160 B.C.)" published in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* Vol.III in 1917 and B.M. Barua's famous work *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills* published in 1929 established Kharavela as an outstanding king of Kalinga in the annals of Indian History.

The ruling chiefs of the Garhjat states such as Mayurbhanj, Bolangir Patna and Kalahandi, in the pre-independent period, also contributed a lot for the study of Orissan history and culture by patronizing archaeologists, historians, and publishing research journals. Mention may be made of scholars like S.N. Rajaguru, P. Acharya and K.N. Mohapatra who have made valuable contributions through their field studies in remote areas of Orissa. In addition to that, a bulk of materials in the form of palmleaf manuscripts were collected by them. Not only did they make attempts to edit them but also utilized them as sources of Orissan history. S.N. Rajaguru made notable contribution to Orissan epigraphy by editing the inscriptions of Orissa in several volumes published in 1958-66. He published a numerous articles on Orissan history solving many controversial issues, apart from the two volumes of his *History of the Gangas* published in 1968-1972. All the major research works of P. Acharya were published lateron in a volume entitled *Studies on Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives* (1969). K.N.Mohapatra has collected numerous palm leaf manuscripts which have been preserved in the Orissa State Museum. He also edited *Descriptive Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts* in two volumes published in 1958-60.

The post-independence period produced three outstanding scholars on Orissan history, namely H.K.Mahatab, K.C. Panigrahi and N.K. Sahu. Except Mahatab, others are professional historians and teachers of University duly trained in scientific historical research. H.K. Mahatab, a multifaceted personality, patronised a host of scholars in Orissa. There is no doubt that Mahatab finds a place Orissan historiography for his notable work *History of Orissa* in two volumes, published in 1959-60. K.C.Panigrahi, a renowned trained archaeologist and historian, has broadened our knowledge of Orissan temple architecture to considerable extent through his magnum opus *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar* published in 1961. His *History of Orissa* (1981) was an attempt to fill the gap on Orissan history. On the other hand. N.K. Sahu's *Buddhism ml* Orissa (1958) is an outstanding work on Buddhism in general and that of Eastern India in particular. It is a painstaking work based on original and rare Buddhist sources. This work is yet to be surpassed in the study of Buddhism in Orissa His other notable work *Utkal University History of Orissa*, Vol. I (1964) is maiden venture to write a systematic history of early Orissa on the basis of all, available

literary and archaeological sources. The most important contributions of all these outstanding historians of Orissa is that they have tried to correct the errors which had crept in the Orissan history through the previous scholars Not only did they highlight new perspectives on the Orissan history but also inspired and guided a host of scholars on Orissan history.

Since the early seventies, there has been a flow of historical works on Orissa. Many scholars, in the Universities of Orissa and outside, worked for their Ph.D. dissertations on Orissan history, and in the process brought out many a publication on different aspects of Orissan history and culture. They have left no stone unturned to unveil various aspects of Orissan history including political and dynastic history of all the major and minor ruling dynasties of Orissa socio-economic condition, various religious movements and archaeological studies Here, it is beyond our scope to present a detailed review of individual scholars and their works.

Further more, it is pertinent to mention the contribution of foreign scholars to the study of Orissan history. In late seventies, under the sponsorship of the South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg, the German scholars headed by Prof. Hermann Kulke have undertaken the Orissa Research Project. The result of this project has been published in The *Cult of Jagannatha* and the *Regional* Tradition *of* Orissa (1978) edited by A. Eschman, H.Kulke and G.C. Tripathy. The project has made an interdisciplinary approach, highlighting the origin, development and organisation of an indigenous regional tradition of Jagannatha cult. It is concluded that the exposition of the cult of Jagannatha cannot be complete without reference to the political history of Orissa, association of kingship with the cult, social structure, beliefs, traditions and the literary, anthropological and economic aspects. Another American scholars Thomas E. Donaldson, an art historian of Cleaveland University, has climaxed the study of Orissan temple architecture by publishing *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa* in three bulky volumes published respectively in 1985, 1986 and 1987. The main aim and objective of his works was to treat the Orissan temples individually in a broad chronological framework and regional sequence by taking note of the stylistic decorations and changing iconographic programme of some select features, motifs and sculptures. He has emphasised the continuity and change in Orissan architectures as well as regional

variations and the external influences. These studies of the foreign scholars have taken the Orissan history to the international forum and generated much interest, among the foreign scholars, in Orissan studies.

It is heartening to note that in recent years the study of Orissan history has become more scientific with the introduction of the interdisciplinary approach. A host of young scholars, trained in different reputed institutions of India and abroad, have brought the regional Orissan history to the national level through their debates on various burning problems in Indian history. History departments of Orissan Universities have also developed expertise on the use of modern tools of scientific research. In this regard, the initiative taken by Professors B.C. Ray, Professor M. N. Das, Professor P. K. Mishra and Professor K.S. Behera are most noteworthy. Orissan history students have excelled at national and international levels. Research articles on Orissan history find a place on almost all national and international journals. In spite of these progresses, many aspects of Orissan history still remain untouched. A number of other problems are yet to be solved. So, research on Orissan history has to go a long way. Let the debate continue in the light of the new findings. After all history in the words of E.H. Carr is "an unending dialogue between the present and the past".

II

Under the U.G.C. programme of Assistance for Strengthening of Infrastructure for Humanities and Social Sciences (ASIHSS), the Post Graduate Department of History, Berhampur University has undertaken research publication work on the main thrust area of study. The first volume titled, "New Aspects of the History and Culture of South Orissa" has already been published highlighting on some unexplored or new aspects of the history and culture of South Orissa contributed by our faculty members and guest scholars. The present volume Orissan Historiography is our second attempt to focus on the contribution of the early historians to the history and culture of Orissa. Orissan historiography is an emerging field of study has been taught in all the universities of Orissa at M.A. and M.Phil. levels. So keeping on to the need of the students and scholars, we have decided the present volume thematic on Orissan historiography. The present volume contained fifteen articles covering from the pre-colonial to the post independence period. There are articles on the eminent historians, their contributions as well as historiographical studies on Orissan Epigraphy, Numismatic,

Freedom Movement and Orissa's cultural relation with Southeast Asia etc. Since the authors are given freedom of their choice to contribute the articles, the chronology and sequence could not be maintained in this volume.

Singdha Tripathy's article, "Orissan Epigraphy: A Historiographical Study" mainly deals with the progress of epigraphical studies in India in general and Orissa in particular. The author has surveyed the studies on Orissan epigraphy since the foundation of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta and contribution of James Princep. The contribution of European scholars such as J.F. Fleet, A. Cunnigham, J. Burgess, E. Hultzsch, L.D. Barnett, Stenkonow to the Orissan epigraphy has been analysed in an objective way. Also, Indian epigraphists who made substantial contribution to Orissan epigraphy such as K.P. Jayaswal, Bhagawanlal Inderjee, R.L. Mitra, H.P. Sastri, M.M. Chakravarti, N.N. Vasu, R.D. Banerjee, R.G. Basak, D.C. Sircar etc. and their works find a major place in her treatment to Orissan epigraphical studies. Besides, she has also examined the works of Orissan epigraphists S.N. Rajguru, Binayak Mishra, Paramananda Acharya, K.N. Mohapatra whose epigraphical studies have enriched Orissan history and culture.

Ajaya Kumar Nayak in his article, "Studies in Orissan Numismatics: A Historical Review", has surveyed the numismatical studies in Orissa. He has given a complete review of the numismatical works on Orissa. Though Orissa yielded various coins such as the earliest punch-marked coins and coins of different dynasties such as Satavahana, Kushana, Gupta and also local coins like Srinanda, Sarabhapura, Kalachuri, Naga, Ganga fanams, Gajapati pagodas but until 1930 no scholars have utilized the numismatic sources for writing Orissan history. Publication of various articles on Orissan numismatics has enriched Orissan history. The scholar has given a complete review. Snigdha Tripathy's work, "The Early and Medieval Coin and Currency System of Orissa (Cir. 300 B.C. to 1568 A.D.)", which is the singular complete study of Orissan numismatics.

Shishir Kumar Panda's article, "Ghulam Husain Salim: A Historiographer of Medieval Orissa" throws light on an unknown historian of medieval Orissa. It is generally believed that modern Orissan historiography started with the colonial rule but before the British historians, Muslim historians have also made attempt to write

history of Orissa. Among them, Ghulam Husain Salim's work is worth mentioning. In this paper, the scholar has made an attempt to assess Ghulam Husain as a historian of medieval Orissa on the basis of his work *Riyazu-S-Salatin*. As a historian his methodology, sources, treatment of subject and matters on Orissan history have been critically anlaysed.

K. Majumdar's "William Wilson Hunter, the Historiographer of Orissa", gives a comprehensive and objective study on W.W. Hunter situating him as a historian par-excellence. The author has given a detail analysis of his work *Orissa* which is the most comprehensive and full length study of the region and people. The main objective of Hunter's work was to provide British officers a comprehensive book of reference for meeting administrative needs with the utility of a Gazetteer. Regarding historical value of Hunter's writing, the author has remarked that "His was an attempt at writing what now gained currency as 'total history', 'grassroot history' and 'history from below', portraying life in its multi-dimensional setting, the focal point being the common people...".

In a similar article, "John Beames' contribution to the History of Orissa", Lalatendu Das Mohapatra has evaluated another colonial administrator-cum-historian John Beames' contribution to history of Orissa. Seldom scholar know John Beams as a historian because primarily he was a philologist, has worked on Oriya language, culture and literature. The most important contribution of Beams to Oriya people that when the existence of their language was in danger, he wielded his pen to defend the independent character of Oriya lanaguage uninfluenced by Bengali through a number of articles citing Orissan history and culture. The scholar has highlighted in detail John Beames' works in his article.

Laxmi Kanta Mishra's article, "Rama Prasad Chanda's contribution for the Cultural Identity of Mayurbhanj: A Historiographical Study" has placed Rama Prasad Chanda as an archaeologist of coastal Orissa in general and of the former state of Mayurbhanj in particular. He has given a balance view of the work of Sri Chanda who did a thorough archaeological exploration of Mayurbhanj and the coastal districts of Orissa. The scholar has remarked that he, "stands unique among all these veteran scholars in the sense that he engaged himself in archaeological and historical researches in a

purely academic fashion. In analyzing the work of R.P. Chanda we usually find scientific precision and objective orientations". Being patronized by the ruling families of Mayurbhanj, his mission was to establish a separate cultural identity for the tribal dominated Mayurbhanj region which can be called a 'total history' of a region and society.

"Pyari Mohan Acharya: The Pioneer of Orissan Historiography" by Nihar Ranjan Patnaik is a modest attempt to place him as a foremost historian of Orissa on the basis of his singular work *Odisara Itihasa* written in vernacular Oriya language. Pyari Mohan though not a professional historian, without any training in historical research ventured to write a complete account of Orissan history. What motivated him to write on Orissan history? The scholar has analysed by giving the political background that when Oriya language and culture was suffering from identity crisis, the people were fighting for their own separate province and amalgamation of all Oriya tracts under one province, Pyari Mohan felt it necessary to write a comprehensive and complete history of the Oriya people recalling their past glory and achievements.

Among the colonial historians, some native historians like Baba Rajendralala Mitra made pioneering contributions to the history of Orissa. Benudhara Patra in his article, "Contributions of Babu Rajendralala Mitra to the Historiography of Orissa" has made a detail analysis of his works in the field of art, culture, archaeology and history. The scholar has given an assessment of his works on Orissan history on the basis of his monumental work *Antiquities of Orissa* in two volumes.

Rakhal Das Banerji can be rated as the first scientific historian of Orissa. He was the first scholar to utilize epigraphical and archaeological sources to write a complete history of Orissa in two volumes. Prafulla Kumar Mohanty in his article, "Rakhal Das Banerji, A Pioneering Historian – His Contributions to the Orissan Historiography" has made a significant contribution in assessing his works in general and Orissa in particular. The scholar has made an attempt to analyse in detail R.D. Banerji's solving some very intricate problems of Orissan history by his epigraphical studies.

Cultural relation between Orissa and Southeast Asia is a fascinating area of study. Many scholars both Indian and foreign have worked to show the cultural, commercial, political and religious link between the two regions. Various theories have been propounded by the

scholars to show the trans-migration of population. Patit Paban Mishra in his article, "Orissa and Southeast Asia: A Discourse on Historiography" has updated our knowledge in this field. He has given a complete review of all the works by the scholars relating to the cultural relations between India and Southeast Asia in general and Orissa in particular. The importance of this article lies in the fact that one can find the assessment of all the studies in a single article which could be beneficial for the scholars who are interested in this field of research.

"Historians and Historiography of Medieval Orissa (1822-1949)" by Basanta Kumar Mallik makes an analysis of the historical works on particularly medieval Orissa written in between nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He has divided his study into three phases. He has assessed the works of early colonial historians such as Andrew Stirling, W.W. Hunter, John Beames and Fergusson in the first phase of his study whereas in the second phase, works of M.M. Ganguly, Sir J.N. Sarkar and R.D. Banerji has been evaluated. In the third phase historical works on medieval Orissa by native scholars like Pyari Mohan Acharya, Jagabandhu Singh, Krupasindhu Mishra, Paramananda Acharya, Binayak Mishra and H.K. Mahatab have been analysed.

Many native scholars who wrote on Orissan history in vernacular Oriya language have remained unknown to the scholarly world. Kailash Chandra Dash in his article, "Historiography of Orissa in Colonial Phase: A Study on Some Native Historians" has brought to light some prominent native scholars who wrote articles in Oriya on Orissan history and culture and published them in various literary magazines, journals and newspapers. They are Mrutunjaya Rath, Jababandhu Singh, Tarini Charan Rath, Pandit Artatrana Mishra, Chandramohan Maharana, Krupasindhu Mishra, Brajabandhu Das, Brajabandhu Pattnaik, Mahendra Pattnaik, Gopabandhu Vidyabhusan, Lakshmi Narayana Harichandana Jagadeva etc. and are identified as nationalist historian by the scholar. The study is based on painstaking research on the basis of archival sources without which these scholars would have remained in obscurity for posterity.

Women's studies in general and their participation in the Freedom Movement in Orissa in particular is a neglected field of study in Orissa. Inspite of this, there are a good number of studies on the women's participation in the Freedom Movement of Orissa. Bina Kumari Sarma in her article, "Role of Women in Freedom Movement in Orissa: A Historiographical Study", has given a detail historiographical review of the works made by the scholars.

Subash Chandra Padhy has given a bibliographical note on the study of Freedom Movement in Orissa. He has cited the works written both in English and Oriya by the scholars covering all parts of Orissa. Due to vastness of the subject and scope of the study it was not possible for him to give a detail analysis of each work due to lack of space. However, the present article would provide insight to the future scholars to take up the subject for further research.

Progress of Orissan historiography in the post-independent period is dealt by Atul Chandra Pradhan in his article, "Orissan Historiography in Post-Independence Era: An Overview". In this essay the scholar has made a general survey of the progress of research on Orissan history and the role played by different organizations such as Utkal University, Orissa State Museum, Orissa State Archives, Orissa History Congress and individual scholars.

The present volume is a modest attempt dealing with some aspects of Orissan historiography. It does not claim a study on Orissan historiography in totality. Many aspects of Orissan historiography and historians have not been covered in the present volume. In order to fulfill this lacunae we are planning publish another volume. I thank all the contributors who responded our request and submitted their papers in time. We are grateful to all of them for their painstaking research and academic commitment in throwing new light through scientific and objective interpretations. Further, I would like to thank Professor A.K. Pattanayak, Coordinator, ASIHSS Programme and all of my colleagues who assigned me the task of editing the present volume and helped me in various ways in bringing out the present volume. Lastly, I thank Sri Pradeep Kumar Panda who not only made typesetting of the manuscripts but also instigated me to complete the work at the earliest possible inspite of my other engagements.

Shishir Kumar Panda

Orissan Epigraphy: A Historiographical Study

Snigdha Tripathy

The study of inscriptions is called 'epigraphy'. It is now well-known fact that we do not possess any regular chronicle dealing with the early history of Orissa which has actually been reconstructed almost in its entirety from the most important antiquarian wealth, the inscriptions which are, no doubt, the store-house of knowledge in the fields of human life and culture. The present state of Orissa can now boast of a long chequered history of its own exclusively due to its immense epigraphic wealth. It is to be admitted that the only reliable history which can be reconstructed for the early and medieval Orissa is obtained from its vast epigraphic antiquities. In fact, what we now at present about the Orissan history and culture is the gift of these indispensable sources discovered from time to time providing us pieces of valuable information on our glorious past. The land has yielded inscriptions far exceeding in number than that have been found so far in other eastern states like Bengal and Bihar. The importance of an inscription is generally determined by the amount of light it shed on the political, economic and cultural history of the land and eth Orissan inscriptions are the most authoritative and abundant sources in this regard in particular. The progress we are making in the reconstruction of history on the strength of discovery of new epigraphic records can be determined by the gradual increase in the volumes of published books thus widening our knowledge on ancient and medieval history and culture since the beginning of the 20th century of the Christian era. Situated between 17^{0}49' – 22^{0}34' north latitude and 81^{0}29'-27^{0}29' east longitude on the eastern coast of India, Orissa is now bounded by the Bay of Bengal in the east, West Bengal and Jharkhand in the north, Chattisgarh in the west and Andhra Pradesh in the south. Politically, the present state of Orisa came into being in 1948 during the British rule. But in ancient and medieval times, Orissan dominions covered a far more extensive area, possessing parts or whole of the above contiguous states, different parts of it bearing different nomenclature as revealed by the distribution of numerous inscriptions and the internal evidences furnished by them.

The study of Orissan inscriptions which should be approached through an all Indian perspective, was unknown prior to the British conquest of Orissa in 1803 though it started in other parts of the subcontinent, practically with the foundation of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta on the 15th January, 1784 by the British and other European scholars for an enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literatures of Asia in general. Although the foundation of the study in India was laid by Charles Wilkins in the eighth decade of the 18th century with the application of his knowledge of the late medieval Benglai and Nagari scripts which he acquired from his study of old manuscripts with the help of some Indian *Pandits*. It was James Prinsep (1799-1840) whose genius and hard work made it possible to think today the present highly developed state of this discipline and the historical information derived from it. The most remarkable about this personality, who was one of the rare geniuses the world has ever seen, was that without any formal schooling or grooming he did all the work that he did in the twin chosen fields of epigraphy and numismatics just within a short span of about seven years (1832-38) in addition to his official duties in the Calcutta Mint and in many other diverse and totally unrelated fields like civil engineering, town planning, architecture, meterology, astronomy, natural sciences etc. He was responsible for the transformation of Major Herbert's journal of *Gleanings in Science* into the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*JASB*) in 1832, issued monthly and carrying research material in any discipline concerning any part of Asia. It was in this journal that almost all the Indological contribution of Prinsep including epigraphy and numismatics were published during his stay at Calcutta and his association with the Society.

His major contribution towards the study of Orissa epigraphy was his attempt to reach the famous Hatigumpha and other inscriptions of early Brahmi characters in the Udayagiri-Khandiagiri hills at Bhubaneswar (1837)[1] and subsequently the Asokan Edict at Dhauli (Bhubaneswar).[2] The study of Asokan inscriptions, in fact, commenced when Prinsep deciphered the Brahmi script used in the Asokan edicts. During his time, the correct nomenclature of this earliest script used in the Asokan edicts (c. 3rd century B.C.) was still unknown and therefore he called it by various names like the 'Indian Pali alphabet' or 'Sanskrit alphabet' and often 'the alphabet of the lats' or the 'lat alphabet' as it was first noticed on the pillars (Asokan pillars) which were popularly known as *Lats* derived from the word *lasti* (or a pillar, a column). He

conceded the identification of the Piyadasi of the Ashokan edicts with the Mauryan emperor Asoka as suggested by Turner[3] and recognized the Indian forms of the names of some Greek kings of Greece, North Africa and West Asia mentioned in two of his rock edicts (II and XIII) at Girnar, such as Yonaraja Antiyoka (Antiochus II Theos of Syria and West Asia, 261-46 B.C.); Turamaya (Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, 285-17 B.C.); Antekina (Antigonus Gonates of Macedonia, 277-39 B.C.); Mega (Megas of Kyrene in North Africa (c.282-58 B.C.), all of whom were living in 260 B.C. and thus helped to fix the period of Asoka more closely basing on the synchronism afforded by these references.

Credit goes to Princep who succeeded for the first time in deciphering the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela and his reading along with the facsimile prepared by Lt. Kittoe was published in *JASB*, Vol.VI (1837), p.1084 and plate 58. A. Stirling was first to notice the inscription in the cave called Hatigumpha in the Udayagiri hill at Bhubaneswar in 1820. Colin Mackenzie prepared a lithograph facsimile for him which was published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol.XV, pp.313ff; also in his book entitled, *An Account of Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, p.100. It was mainly due to his devoted intelligent hard work, palaeography came to be regarded as the basis of deciding the period of a record and of the event or events recorded in it and also became the only dependable ground for chronological purposes in cases of the undated records neither known from other sources. He was first to show the chronological development of the various scripts which had their origin from Brahmi. Unfortunately, he 'did not live longer to complete a more consistent and mature theory of palaeography' as rightly remarked by E. Thomas.[4]

Prior to the discovery and study of inscriptions of Orissa, some European scholars like A. Stirling, W.W. Hunter and others attempted writing history of Orissa relying primarily on the texts like the *Madalapanji*, the well known chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri and the popular local traditions prevalent in the Orissan pilgrim centers like Puri, Jajpur etc. But with the discovery and decipherment of epigraphical antiquities, first by the British and other European scholars and subsequently by the Indians, more emphasis was given on inscriptions for the reconstruction of Orissa's past. In this context, the names of J.F. Fleet and Manmohan Chakravarti deserve to be mentioned who emphasized the study of inscriptions for the reconstruction of

ancient history and culture. The inscriptions are more authoritative than any other source material because they are usually contemporary documents and as their object was not to record history, they are free from bias.

The discovery of early Brahmi inscriptions in Orissa like that of the Asokan edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada (Ganjam district) and the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela and their study by several scholars in the middle of 19th century, offered the best opportunity for the study of the earliest forms of Brahmi characters. The Asokan inscriptions from different parts of the Indian subcontinent including that from Orissa were published first in a volume by Alexander Cunningham.[5] He also read the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela from the photograph taken from the cast of the epigraph prepared by the students of the Government School of Art under the supervision of its Principal H. Locke in 1871, which he incorporated in its reduced form in his said *Corpus*. Though he read the name of Kharavela from the inscription, he failed to know that the inscription belonged to the king named Kharavela, the king of Kalinga.

With the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India, interesting development in the field of collection of epigraphic records and their decipherment began. Alexander Cunnigham, first as the Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India (1871-75) prepared a large number of Archaeological Reports containing notices of hundreds of inscriptions particularly of South Indian regions which also included a large number of Orissan epigraphs. Besides, the publication of *Indian Antiquary* by J. Burgess from Bombay (now Mumbai) in 1872 gave an impetus to the epigraphic study because it attracted several competent writers who contributed valuable writings on the whole range of Indian epigraphy. A good number of inscriptions of the ancient Orissan royal families especially those of the early Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh) were published in the volumes of this journal by the European scholars. In the year 1888, J. Burgess, the then Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, started an official journal entitled, *Epigraphia Indica,* intended specifically for the publication of inscriptions. Orissan inscriptions edited by the European as well as Indian scholars appeared regularly in the pages of this journal since then. E. Hultzsch who was the Epigraphist to the Madras Presidency since 1896, published edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol.I,

Inscriptions of Asoka, Vol.I in 1925, subsequent to that of Alexander Cunningham's volume, in which all the Asokan inscriptions discovered till then were ably edited.

The credit for decipherment of numerous Orissan epigraphic records is due to the initiative of scholars like A. Cunningham, E. Hultzsch, J.F. Fleet, L.D. Bernett, Sten Konow, K.P. Jayaswal, Bhagwanlal Indraji, R.L. Mitar, H.P. Sastri, M.M. Chakravartti, N.N. Vasu, R.D. Banerji, R.G. Basak, D.C. Sircar and several others who have left indelible mark in the pages of the history of the Orissan epigraphic study. Among the Indian scholars, the contribution of H.P. Sastri, N.N. Vasu, R.D. Banerji and D.C. Sircar are conspicuous while V. Rangacharya and Ray Bhadur, H. Krishna Sastri were good dealing with the numerous Orissan inscriptions in Telugu and Sanskrit languages, discovered in Andhra and Ganjam regions of the then Madras Presidency.

The study of inscriptions formed the major and most important item of the archaeologist's work till the beginning of the 20th century. Discovery of Orissan inscriptions was more frequent in this and the subsequent periods, particularly in the southern regions. It was due to the sincere endeavour of the foreign as well as the Indian scholars, these inscriptions were included in the ten volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* by E. Hultzsch, H. Krishna Sastri and Ray Bahadur, V. Vnkayya[6] and *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, collected till 1915 were prepared in three volumes by V. Rangacharya which were published in 1919. Moreover, Hultzsch published notices of inscriptions of his own collection as well as his associates like H. Krishna Sastri and V. Venkayya in *Annual Reports* since 1887 which was then known as *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* but, subsequently, since 1945-46, renamed as *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*. Thus within a period of about half a century, nearly 25000 inscriptions on temple walls and other monuments and nearly 500 copper plate charters were collected and reviewed and of which again, the Orissan inscriptions exceeded 1500 including copper plate records.

It was until the third decade of the 20th century that scholars from Orissa did participate in the study of inscriptions. Sometimes during July 1937, it was resolved under the patronage of the then Maharaja of Paralakhemundi, Sri Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Dev, to establish the Orissa Academy and to bring out a quarterly research journal through it. Several renowned personalities and then zamindars

such as Raja Bhadur Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika (now under Cuttack District), Rai Bahadur Govinda Chandra Prajahraj, Sri Govinda Chandra Thataraja of Bissamkatak (now under Rayagada district), Pandit Nilakantha Dash including some English high officials of the British Raj posted in Orissa, were patrons and vice-patrons of the Academy. The honorary members and office bearers for the Academy were, among others, the eminent archaeologists, historians and literatures like Padmashree Paramananda Acharya, Pandit Binayak Mishra, Pandit Kedarnath Mahapatra, Prof. Ghanasyam Dash, Rai Sahib Artta Ballav Mahanty, padmashree Satyanarayan Rajaguru and many others. The journal was enriched within a short span of three years (1937-40), with the contribution of valuable research papers by these learned personalities of Orissa along with renowned academicians and historians from all over India. Orissan scholars especially, Sri Satyanarayan Rajaguru, Binayak Misra, Paramananda Acharya, Kedarnath Mahapatra did contribute valuable research articles on epigraphic materials then available to them and other similar articles on archeology which have remained so far to be the original ones and on which no further research work is known to have been attempted by scholars of the subsequent times. Unfortunately the journal ceased to be published towards the end of 1940, due mainly to the political unrest in the country.

In 1945-46, another academic orgainsation under the name of the Kalinga Historical Research Society was established under the patronage of the then Maharaja of Patna State (now under Bolangir district) Sri Rajendra Narayan Singha Deo and the Maharaja of Kalahandi, Sri P.K. Deo. The publication of the *Jouranl of the Kalinga Historical Research* from the said Society enabled several renowned scholars from Orissa as well as from other states of the country to contribute writings on epigraphical antiquities. Unfortunately, this research organization and its journal also could not survive for long.

But, with the establishment of the Orissa State Museum by the Government of Orissa sometime during 1948, an official journal *Orissa Historical Research Journal* was started for publication of research articles on epigraphy along with other valuable writings on history and culture of Orissa, since 1958. The period onwards was characterized by the collection, decipherment, editing and publication of a large number of Orissan inscriptions and works on various aspects of history based on inscriptions, particularly by Orissan scholars in journal such as *Journal*

of Andhra Historical Research Society, Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society, Journal of Orissa and Bihar Research Society[7], *Indian Historical Quarterly, Indian Culture, Orissa Historical Research Journal* etc. Thus Pandit Binayak Misra published his *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa* (Calcutta, 1933), based on the epigraphic records then available to him. He also edited the inscriptions of the Bhaumakara dynasty of Orissa, discovered till then, most of which were his own collection, in his book entitled *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings* (Calcutta, 1934). This book, the first of its kind, has so far remained a source book based on the few epigraphs of the dynasty dealing with the chronology and other aspects of history and culture of the region and period. Among the other Orissan scholars who were attracted towards the study of epigraphy during this period, mention may be made of Sri Tarini Charan Rath, Padmashree Satyanarayan Rajaguru, Prof. Krishna Chadra Panigrahi, Pandit Kedarnath Mahapatra, Prof. Navin Kumar Sahu and others of whom Pandit Rajaguru appeared to be more successful and whose contributions to the study of inscriptions are very often referred to by scholars and historians.

An interesting development in the beginning of the second half of 20^{th} century is the involvement of more and more scholars and particularly in the field of editing and compilation of epigraphic records of different royal families of Orissa discovered till then. Thus several volumes of *Inscriptions of Orissa* were compiled, most of which were published by Pandit Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa,* Vol.I, Part II (Bhubaneswar, 1958) by Rajaguru contains the epigraphs of earlier royal families ruling different parts of ancient Orissa during the period ranging from about 5^{th} – 8^{th} century A.D. His second volume of the same series (Bhubaneswar, 1960), contains the inscriptions of the early Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara (c. 5^{th} – 10^{th} century A.D.) and the Gangas of Svetaka (c. 7^{th} – 10^{th} century A.D.). The third volume in two parts, of the series (Bhubaneswar, 1960-61)[8] contains the epigraphs of the imperial line of the Ganga family (c. 10^{th} – 11^{th} century A.D.) of Orissa. His fourth volume of the series (Bhubaneswar, 1965) deals with the records of the Pandu-vamsins and the Soamvamsins, whatever discovered and published till the year of its publication. His last volume of the series, Vol.V, in three parts (Bhubaneswar, 1975-76) contains more inscriptions of the imperial Gangas and their times. The latest valuable work of this scholar on Orissan epigraphs was the compilation and editing of the numerous inscriptions found in the temples of Puri including those discovered in the last part of 20^{th} century within the premises of the Jagannath temple.[9] These epigraphs have been published

in two volumes under the title of *Inscriptions of the Temples of Puri* and *Origin of Sri Purushottama Jagannatha* (Puri, 1992-2003), by the Sanskrit University, Puri. The sixth volume of the series of the *Inscriptions of Orissa,* containing the epigraphic records of the different branches of the Bhanja dynasty of Orissa (c. 8th – 12th century A.D.) was edited and compiled by the present writer and published in 1974. R. Subrahmanyam from Andhra Pradesh published the inscriptions of the Suryavamsin Gajapatis of Orissa in a separate volume during 1986.[10] The epigraphic records of the Sarabhapuriyas, Panduvamsins and the Somavamsins of Daksina Kosala (Chhattisgarh and sambalpur – Bolangir – Sonepur tract of Western Orissa), discovered till 1995 were edited and compiled in a separate volume in two parts[11] by Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri of the Nagpur University. Apart from these works, two more volumes of the *Inscriptions of Orissa* (Vol.I, Delhi, 1997 and Vol.II, Delhi, 1999) were published by the present writer at the end of the last century.[12] Of these, the Vol.I contains the inscriptions of the early royal families (c. 5th – 8th century A.D.) with up to date information incorporating several new epigraphic discoveries. The second volume of the series contains all the epigraphic records of the Bhaumakara dynasty (c. 8th – 10th century A.D.), collected and edited till 1999. It may be noted here that many of the inscriptions earlier edited by different scholars were scattered in different journals and periodicals published from other parts of India which were not easily available to Orissan scholars. The publication of all these volumes by collecting together all the published materials along with up to date discoveries and information enabled the scholars and historians to carry on their researches more convincingly. Thus, barring the few inscriptions written in early Brahmi characters and Prakrit language, belonging to the earliest historical period, such as the inscriptions of Asoka, Kharavela and that of one *maharaja* Gana and the inscriptions of some minor ruling families of early medieval Orissa, such as the Sulkis (c. 9th – 10th centuries A.D.), the Tungas (c. 9th – 10th centuries A.D.), the Nandodbhavas (c. 11th century A.D.) and few others, the epigraphic records of almost all the major dynasties and their times were compiled and published in the said volumes by the end of 20th century. But hundreds of lithic as well as copper plate records have been discovered within Orissa and the contiguous regions of Andhra Pradesh, Chattisgarh and West Bengal since the publication of the above volumes. Unfortunately, very few of them have been published so far, majority of them have remained unpublished, even unnoticed by the scholarly world.

The credit of the most important contribution towards the Orissan epigraphic study goes to Padmashree Satyanarayana Rajguru. He may rightly be regarded as the path-finder in the trackless region of the boundless field of epigraphic research whose works soon surpassed other Orissan scholars of his time. It was his sheet devotion towards the study of epigraphic antiquities, without having any formal training or academic qualification in the subject, which made him a distinguished epigraphist. He was a sound scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu and regarded to be an expert during his time in the field of decipherment and interpretation of Telugu inscriptions. His *Inscriptions of Orissa* series, particularly, Vol.III in two parts and Vol.V in three parts dealing mostly with Telugu epigraphs of the Imperial Ganga rulers of Orissa bear ample proof of his remarkable capacity of presenting the inexhaustible epigraphic materials of the dynasty found in the renowned temples of the South Indian regions and Orissa. The numerous copper plate charters including several stone inscriptions, ranging from the early period down to the end of the Suryavamsin Gajapati rule, which form the landmark in the Orissan history and many of which the discovery goes solely to his credit shows the flair he had for collecting such valuable antiquities. The pages of *Orissa Historical Research Journal, Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society* of which he was one of the founder members were enriched by his learned articles on Orissan inscriptions.

Although books on the origin and development of regional scripts like A.C. Burnell's *Elements of South Indian Palaeography (from 4th to the 14th century A.D.)*, 1874; R.D. Banerji's *Origin of the Bengali Script* (1919) appeared since the last part of 19th century, there was no specific work on the origin and development of Oriya script until 1962 when Prof. K.B. Tripathi first published his valuable book entitle,d *The Evolution of Oriya Language and script.* Since then no further development in this field of study has been made. Pandit S.N. Rajaguru, however, wrote a few pages in Oriya,[13] on the origin and development of Oriya script, but it does not fulfil the need of a systematic and thorough period-wise study of the palaeography of this regional script based on fresh and scientific research. It is now indeed heartening to know that a few young scholars have taken initiative towards the study of palaeography of Orissan inscriptions. The result has been the recent publication of the books on *Numerals in Orissan Inscription*[14] and *Palaeography of Orissa*[15]. Further, one more book on the *Paleography of Orissan Inscriptions* by another young scholar Harihar Routray[16] is in the offing.

Apart from knowing the palaeography or to decipher the ancient scripts, the study of epigraphic records requires mastery over ancient languages mainly Sanskrit and Prakrit. But this is rarely noticed among the present day students of history and similar is the case with the students of Sanskrit who do not have knowledge in ancient history of our country. What is essential for epigraphical study is a sound combination of linguistic, palaeographic and historical background in order to interprete an inscription in a correct and rational manner. Early Indian inscriptions in general and that of the Orissan in particular are almost exclusively in Sanskrit languages (including Prakrit) and consequently, for understanding them a sound knowledge of Sanskrit is highly essential. Sanskrit continued to be used greatly even after regional languages came to be employed in the epigraphic records and therefore a sound knowledge in Sanskrit is necessary even for the medieval records. It is also observed that without the knowledge of Sanskrit, even good acquaintance with palaeography is of little use as it is well known to most epigraphists who had occasion to decipher inscriptions. Moreover, honesty and integrity are also important requirements for the study in this subject as we are not supposed to read and interprete anything we like when a passage is difficult to decipher.

In present times the study of epigraphy is no longer popular among scholars in Orissa. Rarely, a scholar can read and interprete an inscription properly. Even scholars from foreign countries working in the field of archaeology or any of the Indological studies, no longer take interest in Indian inscriptions, though the study of epigraphy and numismatics were the major and most important part of an archaeologist's work in our country as a whole till at least the fifth decade of the 20th century. The difficult nature of epigraphical research has often been emphasized by earlier scholars. They indeed felt that an epigraphic record particularly a mutilated one cannot be read all at once and the "reading of a damaged passage baffling the decipherer for fifty times may occur to him in his fifty-first attempt or may not occur to him but to someone else".[17] Serious students of the present times do not take interest towards this difficult field of study for conducting research mainly because this needs diligence, sincerity and in-depth study of linguistics and also because they are attracted by other easier avenues of life. Perhaps due to these reasons, these are very few successful epigraphists in our country as a whole and Orissa is no exception to this.

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3 *ibid.,* Vol.II, p.13.

4 *ibid.,* Vol.II, p.39.

5 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (*CII* onwards), Vol.I, *Inscriptions of Asoka,* 1877.

6 Early volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions,* e.g. Vol.I (1890); Vol.II, Part-I (1891); Vol.II, Part-II and Part-III (1895) and Vol.III, Part-I (1899), Part-II (1903), the first of which containing some Tamil and Sanskrit records, collected from different parts of Madras Presidency were edited by Hultzsch, the introduction of Vol.III, Part-II as well as Vol.II, Part-IV (1913) were prepared by Ray Bahadur V. Venkayya .. Ray Bahadur, H. Krishna Sastri edited the volume III, part III (1920) and Part-IV (1921) and volume IV (1923); Vol.V (1925) and Vol.VI (1928) of the same work. The Vol.X of this work was edited by Ramayya Pantulu in 1948.

7 This journal is now renamed as *Journal of Bihar Research Society,* published from Patna.

8 The two parts of this volume were published by the Orissa Sahitya Academy, Bhubaneswar. Rest of the volumes of the series including volume VI by the present writer were published by the Government of Orissa through the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

9 More than 60 stone slabs containing inscriptions of the imperial Gangas were brought to light while deplastering the Nrisimha temple within the Jagannath temple compound by the Archaeological Survey of India, Bhubaneswar during 1980s.

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Studies in Orissan Numismatic: A Historiographical Review

Ajaya Kumar Nayak

Numismatics has been etymologically defined as the science of coins which include the study of coins, medals, tokens or objects closely resembling them in form or purpose found as stray or in archaeological context.

Coins are among the few important archaeological artefacts, which though bear quite a short span of life, normally carry with them some evidences, often very specific, of their dates. Coins tiny in size do not have much space to contain writing; but whatever they record are all very important. They are usually the products of some authority, which can be well determined. Coins are usually found as single pieces or in hoards. Coins assume relatively greater importance when found in a hoard and more so in archaeological context. In the absence of a continuous historical literature in India vis-à-vis Orissa the study of coins assumes greater importance for the reconstruction of politico-economic, social, religious and cultural history of this land, particularly for the ancient and medieval period.

Studies in numismatics in India has progressed considerably, however, this field in Orissa is still barren excepting the single work on it by Snigdha Tripathy titled *Early and Medieval Coins and Currency System of Orissa (circa 300 BC to 1568 AD).*[1] Numismatics has remained a neglected subject of study and research in Orissa. From this land of Orissa varieties of coins like Punch-marked coins, coins of Satavahanas, Kushana and Imitation Kushana coins, Gupta coins, Srinanda coins, coins of rulers of Sarabhapura, coins of the Kalachuris of Dahala and Ratnapura, Naga kings of Chakrakotta and Yadavas of Devagiri, Ganga *fanams*, Gajapati *pagodas*, coins of Sultanate and Mughal period and a host of other miscellaneous coins have been discovered as stray finds and also in hoards. Besides, Roman coins as pendants and bullaes,[2] Ceylonese and Chinese[3] coins etc. have also been found from Orissa; most of these being found in archaeological context. Of all the coins found in Orissa, the so-called Puri-Kushana coins, now accepted by scholars as the Imitation Kushana coins are quite large in number.

Hoernle,[4] V. Smith,[5] Allan,[6] Elliot,[7] E.H.C. Walsh,[8] K.P. Jayaswal,[9] S.K. Bose,[10] A.S. Altekar,[11] P. Acharya,[12] A. Banerji,[13] T.N. Ramachandran,[14] P.L. Gupta,[15] B.B. Nath[16] K.S. Behera,[17] and host of others have done valuable researches on various aspects and problems about Kushana coins and their Imitations found in Orissa. The term Puri-Kushana was applied to Imitation Kushana coins by A.F.R. Hoemie, who examined the earliest known specimens found in the Gurubai Salt Factory at Manikapatna in the Puri district. However, the attempts of Walter and John Allan to identify the so-called Puri-Kushana coins discovered in Orissa were mainly speculative. Padmashree Paramananda Acharya advocated that the so-called Puri-Kushana coins represented the coinage of the kings of Orissa who flourished in the Gupta period, but who were quite independent. P.L.Gupta, while attempting to fix the date of the Kushana currency maintains that the Kushana coins were current in Orissa in the period when the Kushana Empire ceased to exist in Northern India. Moreover, scholars like M.B. Mitchiuer,[18] B.B. Nath,[19] D.K. Ganguly,[20] V.V. Mirashi,[21] S.R. Iyyangar,[22] R.S. Rao,[23] A.H. Siddiqui,[24] S.C. Dey,[25] S.N. Rajaguru,[26] P.K. Deo,[27] P.K. Roy,[28] P.C. Rath,[29] and S. Tripathy,[30] S.C. Panda and D. Chopdar,[31] and others also have written important articles on various aspects and problems on various coins found in Orissa, in learned journals like *JNSI*, *JBORS*, *OHRJ*, *JOH* and others. However, all these writings in the form of articles were fragmentary in approach and lacking in cohesion for a broader perspective.

Until 1930 no scholars such as A. Sterling, W.W. Hunter, R.L. Mitra and others had utilized the numismatic evidences for the early history of Orissa. R.D. Banerji was the first scholar who referred to the some of the coins discovered in Orissa and utilized these numismatic evidences as a source material for his work.[32] Thereafter scholars writing standard textbooks on the history of Orissa have more or less utilized numismatic evidences found from Orissa. The *Early and Medieval Coins and Currency System of Orissa (circa 300 BC to 1568 AD)* by Snigdha Tripathy, published in 1986 was a pioneering work specifically on the coins and currency systems of Ancient and Medieval Orissa and has remained so till this date. This book virtually represents her Ph. D dissertation, submitted to Utkal University in 1982 which

however has been updated by her in the light of new materials available by then. The valuable work has fulfilled a long felt dearth in the field of numismatic studies in Orissa which has successfully made a systematic and comprehensive study of the existing sporadic materials including all the reported findings of coins, both from stray and archaeological contexts. Further, epigraphy and foreign traveller's accounts have also been utilized in this work for constructing the history of coinage in Orissa.

The work includes discussions on all the major coins circulating in Orissa such as Punch-marked coins, Satavahana coins, Kushana and their Imitation coins, Gupta coins, Srinanda coins, Sarabhapura coins, Kalachuri coins, Naga coins, Ganga *fanams*, Gajapati *pagodas*, miscellaneous coins etc. which were either circulating as issues by the Kings of Orissa or by the acceptance of common men, brought or manufactured by the traders. It includes systematic study of symbology, fabric, weight standard as well as manufacturing techniques etc. The work has become more valuable for the fact of presentation of drawings of symbols found on the silver-punch marked coins found in Orissa. On the basis of numismatic studies S. Tripathy has also tried to give answers to many intriguing questions in the history of Orissa. The rule of Satavahanas in south Kalinga is ruled out by her on the ground that barring a few lead coins which have been found as stray finds[33] these are palpably absent in comparison with the Imitation Kushana coins. Further, she has also rightly contested the theory of Kushana and Gupta occupation of Orissa as argued by some scholars solely relying on the evidence of some stray sculptures found at Bhubaneswar and its adjoining areas evincing distinct Kushana or Gupta influence. When the original Kushana struck coins brought by the traders to Orissa became scarce, she holds, these were replaced with their cast imitations by the traders of Orissa. However, her hypothesis that silver punch-marked coins were in circulation in Orissa even up to 9th-10th centuries A.D. is a far-drawn conclusion[34] for the issue of punch-marked coins stopped some time in the 2nd century B.C., only they remained in circulation a little longer. Her view that the copper coins of Sri Nanda were also brought by the traders to the area of its find has been well contested by A.K. Nayak who holds the view that these were issued by the local rulers.[35]

However, the study suffers from modern technological analyses available to modern numismatists such as chemical analysis or the specific gravity method to know the metallic composition of coins.[36] The knowledge in relative concentration of metals in the coins helps to know the metals available in the region, the technological advancement, metallurgical practices and above all the economy of the region concerned. By making an interdisciplinary study especially in archaeological, geological and metallurgical, one can know the type of ores used from which the metal or metals have been extracted and thus we can even locate the mines from which these metals have been brought for smelting for coins. This knowledge can also determine whether the previous circulating coins have been smelted or not for making new successive coins. These can provide valuable knowledge in trade diaspora or other wise for procuring ores or metals for making coins. Further this work which covers the medieval period has not included the coins of Sultanate and Mughal period found in Orissa or even kept in State Museums of Orissa.

In the light of above discussion it becomes crystal clear that numismatic study in Orissa still remains a barren land. Now only a handful of scholars are working on the subject by publishing new finds or making new interpretations in reputed journals. Among the recent scholars working in this virgin field are A.K. Nayak,[37] J. Mohapatra[38] B. Mishra and P. Mohanty,[39] P.K. Nayak[40] who have contributed important articles on this subject. A.K. Nayak has discovered three hoards of Imitation Kushana coins one each from the village Lingapara adjacent to the Soro town, district Balasore; Dolasahi in Bhadrak district and from Rajkanika, district Kendrapara respectively. Also he has newly discovered a second hoard of Srinanda coins from the same village of Lingapara at Soro, the first hoard of which had been discovered in 1953 by S.N. Rajguru from Gandibedh, 17 K.M. from Soro. J. Mohapatra has shed lights on the new finds of Kalachuri coins and B. Mishra and P. Mohanty has found out new Ganga-*fanams*.

Still there are a lot to do in this field of study and particularly efforts are needed to bring to the notices of scholars of coins in private possessions. Moreover, a detailed study of medieval coins and coins of other countries found in Orissa is awaited. Further, analysis of metal contents of coins on the basis of scientific methods available is still a desideratum.

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Ghulam Husain Salim
A Historiographer of Medieval Orissa

Shishir Kumar Panda

It is generally believed that Orissan historiography started with the colonial rule but before the British historians, Muslim historians also tried to write on the history of Orissa. Among them, Ghulam Husain Salim's work is worth mentioning. His Persian work *Riyazu-s Salatin*[1] is one of the most important and detailed accounts of the Muslim history of Bengal It traces the history of Bengal from the invasion of Bakhtyar Khalji to the British rule in 1788, the year of the completion of the work. Basically, the work does not deal entirely on the history of medieval Orissa, but since Orissa formed a Subah under Akbar after the defeat of the Turko -Afghans in the hands of the Mughals, the author has dealt the political and administrative history of medieval Orissa. In this paper an attempt is made to assess Ghulam Husain as a historian of medieval Orissa on the basis of his Riyazu-s-Salatin. As a historian, his methodology, sources, treatment of subject and matters on Orissan history is also critically analysed.

The Author: Ghulam Husain Salim

Ghulam Husain Salim was originally a native of Zaidpur in Oudh, migrated to Malda in Bengal and worked as a Dak-munshi or post- master under Mr. George Udny, the then Commercial Resident of the East India Company's factory at Malda. The details of his early education, particularly his knowledge of history and family background is not known from his work. However, as his work indicates not only he was an educated talented writer having knowledge in history but also he was a great Persian scholar having the ability to collect information from the early Persian works and official records available to him. Of course, he was neither a professional nor a court historian. Then questions arise how did he write the history of Bengal? What was his motivation for this? Husain has stated[2] that it was by the order of Mr. Udny, he wrote the history of Bengal. Regarding Udny, he wrote "George Udny's high mind is always interested in the study of histories, travels and seeker of all sorts of knowledge. In 1786 (1200 AH) he was interested to know the history of Bengal, life and career of kings and political administration over Bengal".[3] Therefore, he asked Ghulam Husain to compile a history of Bengal from the available historical sources in simple language, intelligible to all, deserve approval of the elite".[4]

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His Sources of Study

The author has not mentioned the sources for his writing on the history of Bengal. He followed the common practice of the Muslim historians, and he never cared to acknowledge the sources. However, he has given a general statement on how he collected the information in general. He made an, "effort and venture, collected sentence after sentence from every source and for a period of two years has devoted himself to the compilation and preparation of this history.[5] Since the author has written it during the years 1786-88, we may presume and identify the sources available to him at that time. Also, the internal evidences of his work indicate that he has consulted the standard Persian works like *Tabaquat - i - Nasiri* (1260 A.D) by Minhaj -us-Siraj, *Tarikh - i- Firuz Shahi* (1357 A.D) by Zia -ud -din - Barani, *Tarikh -i-Firuz Shahi* (15th cent. A.D) by Shams -i- Siraj- Afif, *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* (1370 A.D.) by an anonymous author, *Tabaquat - i- Akbari* (1593 A.D.) by Khwaja Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Burhan-i-Maasir* (1.595-96 A.D) by Sayyid Ali Tabataba, *Akbarnamah and Ain-i Akbari* (1596 A.D.) by Abdul Fazl, *Tarikhi-Firishta* (1609 A.D.) by Firishta and *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* (Cir. 17th cent A.D.) by Mirza Nathan. Since all these works[6] throw light on the history of Orissa under the Turko-Afghans and Mughals, probably the author has collected information from these works available to him at that time. No doubt, he has consulted all these original Persian works which shows not only his proficiency in Persian but also his capability to handle the sources for writing the history of Bengal.

His Methodology

Ghulam Husain was neither a professional nor a court historian and he has admitted of his limited knowledge and poor ability.[7] But inspite of this he has followed the methodology of Muslim historians prevalent at that time. He has been greatly influenced by the style of *Akbarnama* written by Abul Fazl, the celebrated court historian who had a deep impact on the Muslim historiography of medieval India.[8] As far as the treatment of history and style of writing is concerned, Ghulam Husain has followed the basic aims and objectives of Muslim historians to present the past as a succession of events, deeds and episodes, wars, campaigns and courts and Ghulam Husain was no exception to it. Without enquiring into the causes, conditions and processes, he has generalised the history of Bengal which included Bihar and Orissa too. The common people did not get a place in his history, but emphasis has been given to the kings, nobles, higher sections of the society and on the central government and administration. But to some extent he has maintained the chronology of events and dated them from the *Hijra* date (622 A.D).

Treatment of the History of Odisah Subah

Ghulam Husain has broadly dealt with the history of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa under the Delhi Sultanate and Mughals. History of Orissa has not been treated separately either in a chapter or a section, the title of the work has been given *Riyazu-s-Sulatin* which means Garden of Kings and not as the history of Bengal.

As we have mentioned above, regarding Orissa, the work mainly deals with the extent and boundaries of Orissa Subah, political history such as early Turko-Afghan expeditions to Orissa (Jajnagar). Mughal-Afghan conflict for possession of Orissa, formation of Orissa Subah of Bengal Kingdom under Akbar, Mughal rule in Orissa under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the cult ofJagannatha and the Gajapati kings in the political and administrative context. Though, it is not possible to deal in detail all these facts mentioned attempt has been made to analyse critically some of the major events and descriptions regarding Orissa.

Description of the Boundaries and extent of Orissa Subah

The work mentions that during the time of Akbar, Orissa was conquered by Kalapahar and annexed to the Delhi empire. Then it became a Subah and formed apart of Bengal kingdom.[9] Regarding its boundaries and extent, it states that Orissa Subah was extended to 43 kros in length and 20 kros in breadth, its southern limit was upto the sea, whereas towards north and east were high mountains and subah of Bihar adjoining the western boundary.[10] Further, it locates 'vilayet' of Orissa on the southern limits of Bengal and the boundaries of Bengal formed from 'Landadeul' to Malwa and the passage of the Chilika lake.[11] From this we know that Orissa Subah was extended upto Chilika lake, the southern limit of Bengal kingdom which is historically correct.

Early Turko-Afghan expeditions to Orissa

Riyazu-s-Sulatin describes the early expeditions of Bakhtiyar Khilji to Orissa under his lieutenant Muhammad Shiran to Jajnagar and subsequently Ghiyas-ud-din's annexation of Jajnagar to Bengal kingdom.[12] Further, it narrates Tughan Khan's invasion of Jajnagar, storming of the fort of Katasin, fight between the Muslims and the Orissa kings and the invasion of Lakhanuti by the Oriyas[13] which is authentic.

Conquest of Orissa by Kalapahar and Role of Mukundadeva

Ghulam Husain narrates in detail the conquest of Orissa by Kalapahar during the time of Akbar. Regarding Kalapahar, he states that Kalapahar was one of the nobles of Babur who worked under Akbar (it is not true). He led an expedition to Orissa with 12,000 select cavalry

during the rule of Mukundadeva.[14] Mukundadeva about whom Ghulam Husain has given a wrong and poor picture. Ghulam Husain states, "Rajah Mukand Deo, the rule of that country, was very luxurious and given to indolence and ease. For six months, he admitted the public to his audience, and attended to the management of the affairs of his country, and for six months he gave his body rest, and went to sleep. And if anyone awoke him during this period of slumber, he was sure to be killed".[15]

By depicting the character of Mukundadeva in such a derogatory way, Ghulam Husain not only tries to prove him to be an incompetent, idle and luxurious and unfit ruler but also justifies the conquest of Orissa by Kalapahar. Further, he states that when Kalapahar stormed the fort of Barabati, the king went to sleep and he carried away the queen with all household goods and chattels.[16] This distortion of fact is an usual habit of Muslim historians depicting the Hindu rulers who gave resistance to the Muslim conquest. After subjugation of entire Orissa by Kalapahar, Ghulam writes, "The firm Mohammedan religion and the enlightened laws of Islam were introduced into that country".[17] He says the destruction of Hindu temples and idols by iconoclast Kalapahar, as 'miracle' and states, "whenever in that country, the sound of his drum reached, the hands and the feet, the ears and the noses of the idols, worshipped by the Hindus, fell off their stone figures, so that even now stone idols, with hands and feet broken, and noses and ears cut off, are laying at several places in that country".[18] In this way, the author calls Kalapahar's religious vandalism as miracle and gives divine sanction to it; and by doing so, he wanted to champion the cause of Islam. This proves his dominating hold on religion over historiography.

Orissa Under the Mughals

Ghulam Husain's treatment of the history of Orissa under the Mughals seems to be more dependable though not free from errors. Here, he discusses the battle between the Mughals and the Afghans for possession of Orissa, peace settlement at Cuttack and finally the battle of Rajamahal after which the Mughals annexed Orissa.[19] Further, he deals with the Mughal administration of Odisah Subah from the time of Akbar to Aurangzeb, mentions appointment of different governors, subehdars and deputy Nazims in different periods, their official activities, conquests and their relations with the Gajapati kings of Khurda.[20] Ghulam has also given an account of the arrival of prince Shah Jahan's army in Orissa.[21]

Interestingly, Ghulam has given a detailed account of Alivardi Khan's expedition to Orissa during 1741-42.[22] It narrates the affairs of Mayurbhanj and wrongly mentions the name of its ruler as Jagadhar Bhanj to whom R.D. Benerji has rightly identified with Chakradhar Bhanj.[23]

Affairs of Jagannath Temple During the Muslim Rule

Ghulam has given an account of the Jagannath temple and worship by the Hindus at Purusottama. He states, "Jagannath, which is a big temple of the Hindus, is in this Subah [Orissa]. It is said when the Hindus reach Purusottama where Jagannath is, in order to worship Jagannath, first they shave their heads .... After done so, they proceed to worship their God of Jagannath".[24]

Further he mentions, "At Purusottama, Hindus unlike their practice elsewhere, eat together with Musalmans and other races. And all sorts of cooked food sold in the bazar, and Hindus and Musalmans buy them and eat together and drink together."[25] From this description of the Jagannatha temple and its worship, it seems that the author has never visited Puri. His observations based on pilgrim's information. That is why he has wrongly mentioned that in the Jagannatha temple Hindus and Muslims eat together. It was never a fact, the Muslims never take food from the Jagannatha temple or eat with the Hindus.

Ghulam Husain also discussed the cult of Jagannatha under the rule of Taqi Khan, the Subehdar of Orissa. For the first time he has mentioned the economic importance of the cult for the Mughal rule. Riyazu states the economic reasons for the re-installation of the Lord Jagannath in the temple. It states,

"During the commotion in Muhammed Taqi Khan's time, the Rajah of Parsutam had removed Jagannath, the Hindu God, from the limits of the Subah of Odisah, and had guarded it on the summit of a hill across the Chilika lake. In consequence of the removal of the idol, there was a falling off to the tune of nine lakhs of rupees in the imperial revenue, occurring from the pilgrims. Establishing friendly relations with Mir Habib-ullah Khan, and paying Nazar to the Nazim of the time Rajah Dand Deo [Ramachandradeva II] brought back Jagannath, the Hindu God to Parsutam and re-established the worship of Jagannath at Puri".[26]

But here, the author has clearly avoided to mention the rule of Taqi Khan in Orissa who is famous as one of the most cruel and despot Subehdars of Orissa. However, from his writing we know that lord Jagannatha was shifted to Chilka lake to escape from the Muslim attacks and the installation of the lord in Puri by the Mughals was made for econoinic reasons.

Limitations of the Author

Since Ghulam Husain was not a professional historian, his treatment of the history of Orissa Subah is not free from shortcomings. Very often the author has given imaginary stories, collected information from the pilgrims and secondary sources. Hence his history is very often not based on true facts and are confusing. Except the history of Bengal under the Delhi Sultanate, he has tried to give a more reliable and dependable administrative history of Orissa province under the Mughals.

Ghulam Husain has not claimed himself a historian'. In the preface of the work, he describes himself as a, "man of poor ability"[27] and "ignorant man of limited capacity".[28] This shows the greatness and humility of the scholar. He has also admitted his shortcomings and appeals to the readers, "It is hoped that this work may merit the-approval of all persons of light. It is desired of people conversant with past times, that if they detect any mistake or oversight, they will overlook it, in as much this humble man is not free from shortcomings."[29] Inspite of his limited knowledge, we must appreciate his attempt to write the history of Bengal with scanty information. Though, he wrote history by the order of his master, but he was not a court historian. His writing was very much influenced by the medieval historians like Minhaj-us-Siraj and Abdul Fazl. So he has not freed himself from dealing with mainly political and administrative history which was the main human activity in those days considered worth recording.[30] Also, his writings has not escaped the religious bias which was often order of the day.

Regarding its drawbacks and limitations J.N. Sarkar has remarked, "This book names Riyaz-us-Salatin is meager in facts, mostly incorrect in details and dates, and vitiated by loose traditions as its author had no knowledge of many of the standard Persian authorities who had treated Bengal as a part of the general histories of India."[31] On the other hand, regarding historical value of the work, Prof. Blochman has remarked, "The Riyazu-s-Salatin is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal which the author brings down to his own time (1786-88)."[32]

Inspite of the controversy among the scholars regarding the historical value of the work, it cannot be simply overlooked. Many scholars like R.D. Banerjee,[33] H.K. Mahatab,[34] P. Acharya[35] and H. Kulke[36] have used the new information given in this work for writing the medieval history of Orissa There is no doubt that the work is full of inaccuracies of facts, wrong statements and dates, hence it can not be relied in its totality. At the present knowledge of our historical research, Ghulam Husain's work may appear invalid, but his work remains as a major source for the history of medieval Orissa under the Turoko-Afhans and the Mughals.

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William Wilson Hunter, the Historiographer of Orissa

K. Majumdar

William Wilson Hunter is a familiar name to the students of history of Orissa. His *Orissa*[1] is the very first work for the students, though the book does not prefess to be the last word on the subject. For long the book held the field as the most comprehensive full length study of the region and its people.

Hunter's claim as the most famous early historian of Orissa rests on this work alone, for none either preceded or followed it.[2] Published from England and profitably used by generations of scholars, the work, however, is yet to receive the critical appraisal it deserves. The late professor N. K. Sahu, in his *History of Orissa*[3] got some chapters of Hunter's work reprinted with critical notes on some points. In these notes Sahu incorporated results of latest researches on the early history of Orissa the field of his own specialisation. But then he did not make any critical evaluation of Hunter's distinct contribution to the historical literature of Orissa except by way of some remarks in the preface to his book. The present paper is an attempt to fill this vacuum.

Hunter was not the first to write on Orissa. Andrew Stirling[4] preceded him, while George Toynbee[5] and John Beames[6] were his contemporaries. Some accounts of Orissa by Christian missionaries, Amos Sutton[7], James Pegg[8], Charles Bacey[9] and W.F.B. Laurie[10] had already appeared before Hunter's work as also various Parliamentary Papers.[11] Stirling, Toynbee, Beames and Hunter were high ranking Government officers whose studies on Orissa were inspired partly by an administrative need and partly by their genuine interest in the history of the land. Compared to the works of Stirling. Toynbee and Beames, Hunter's work stands out as the most detailed and systematic account based on the fourfold spirit of enquiry and exploration, examination and elucidation. Hunter's Orissa is a storehouse of information laboriously collected and skillfully sifted with a view to presenting which the author considered as the true picture of the society and culture of the least known region of British India. It indeed, marked a new phase in Indian historiography, being a pioneer work on regional history.

Hunter brought to bear on his work his expertise as a compiler of Gazetteers for whom no place was small enough to be ignored and no event too trivial to record. His was an attempt at writing what now gained currency as "total history", "grass root history" and "history from below", portraying life in its multi-dimensional setting, the focal point being the common people. "who bear our yoke", but who till then "have found no analyst.[12] He endeavoured "to delineate the inner life" of the province, having taken, like his contemporaries, Henry Maine, James Byall and Firtzjames Stephen-all administrator turned historian – "a rounded, comprehensive of history".[13]

The need for knowing Orissa and its problems was awakened by the great famine of 1866 which was the result as much of prolonged administrative apathy as of inadequate rainfall. The history of modern Orissa could be dated from the administrative measures the Government took after the famine, and the writings on Orissa that appeared after 1866 the works of Toynbee. Beames and Hunter were an aid to these measures.

Hunter's object was to provide the British officers of the time with comprehensive book of reference for meeting administrative needs; the work has indeed the utility of a Gazetteer though not its typical character, and that is because of the style Hunter adopted in writing it. While identifying the administrative problems caused partly by geographical factors, Hunter traced the evolution of the life and culture of the local people and the growth of they socio-economic institution. And the style of the narrative is such as to prove helpful to administrators and pleasing to lay readers.

In the 19th century, histories of various regions of India were compiled by the officers serving in them. Hunter did not serve in Orissa proper, but his posting in Bengal, of which Orissa. was an administrative appanage, required his periodical visits to Orissa, He needed to round off his study of rural Bengal[14] and the process naturally involved delving into the history of Orissa from the earliest times to the early 1870s with emphasis being laid on the life of the common people changing through the centuries. A comparison of the rural life of Bengal with that in Orissa could well be made on the basis of the facts provided by Hunter.

Hunter's historical works are bases on the solid foundation of facts called from sources, both vast and varied. He seemed to believe that facts to history were tike bricks to buildings. And this is evident in his Orissa too in which he made a conscious effort to live up to the ideals of a professional historian. The result is that his work is voluminous, besides being reliable, authoritative and authentic, judged in the context of the contemporary historical tradition. His reliance on Government records and official documents gave his account of the British rule in Orissa in particular, the credibility which one does miss in many a much later account of the rule. And for the reconstruction of the history of the pre-British period, he made both extensive judicious use of local literary resources. Hindu and Muslim literature, both religious and secular, went in to the writing of the history of Orissa under Hindu and Muslim rulers His large circle of friends in various departments of the Government helped him both in the acquisition of the latest literature on the theme of his interest and in the reading and understanding of Persian chronicles.

Legends and folklores, too, served Hunter's purpose; with them he sought to reconstruct the cultural history of the land, the best of which he found in the cult of Jagannath. For such themes as the evolution of the cult, the various rites and rituals associated with the worship of the deity, the position and privileges of the priests, the revenues and expenditures of the temples of Jagannath, and the grants and endowments made to it, he had to sift facts from a mass of temple records as well as popular tales and legend. For his efforts to establish the likes between Buddhism and the cult of Jagannath, Hunter had to dig into the Buddhist canonical literature of not only India but Ceylon as well.

Hunter would compare Indian language materials of several regions with view to checking and cross checking, such an exercise being necessary because local accounts sometimes tended to make heroes of men portrayed as nincompoops in the literature of other regions. Events underplayed to same accounts were overplayed in some others, depending on who were the men involved in the events and which region the authors of the accounts belonged to. Hunter's was no mean task to identify crumbs of true facts beneath the husk of patently

biased accounts of court chroniclers To him the contemporaneity of source materials alone was not the determinant of their authenticity; the author's motivation in writing his account of events was also an important consideration for its acceptance as a reliable tool of history.

Even abundance of source materials and their ready availability were no cause for complacency, for Hunter found, "Whenever two sources of materials exist, Indian history finds itself reduced to an unsatisfactory reconciliation of conflicting evidence".[15]

And this proved a major difficulty when Hunter had to write on the Muslim period of the history of Orissa For this period, Hunter would, of course, rely more on Persian chronicles than on Hindu temple archives and "sacred songs" but then, he could not overlook the fact that the chroniclers often gave conflicting view points with the result that their users often found themselves in "the labyrinth of cross roads intersecting each other at the most perplexing angles".[16]

For Hunter, of all source materials, records in archives were the most important, if history had to be so written as to be useful to administrators. For him "these buried records contain the materials for a wiser and more enlightened administration of the Indian races".[17] He deplored that "Indian history is still written, not from the contemporary records of eye witnesses, but from the passionate declamation of Sheridon and Burke".[18] He forcefully pleaded for the "task of resuscitating the Indian records in the light of a duty to the Indian races"; records in archives exhibited the facts; and "it is only by bringing our system into accord with facts that we can give it self-sustaining vitality".[19] "The Manuscript Archives" alone could show whether the British system of government was grounded upon pre-existing local customs, and if it possessed that stability which sprang from being in accord with actual facts. In writing on Orissa, Hunter admitted of having been painfully convinced that "no permanent work can be done without a systematic survey of the records on a much larger scale than any single man can effect"; he called for a "division of labour" between these who would collect archival materials, those who would preserve, them for posterity, and those, viz. historians, who would make use of them for meeting the needs of administrators and policy makers".[20]

Field study was an important feature of Hunter's historiography: he saw for himself both the places and people dealt with in his work on Orissa" He interviewed local Government officers public men and the common people whose "oral history" he found no less valuable than recorded facts in Government appears his description of the religious life of Orissa and that of the tribal life, in particular was based substantially on his personal visits to places of pilgrimage and tribal tracts. Such visits and personal contact with local people proved helpful in getting many a doubt clarified and in forming a correct perspective of many a local usage custom and practice. The patently sympathetic view he took of the local life was largely based on his personal acquaintance with the life.

Hunter's object was not just to record the history of Orissa through the ages, but to understand the way of life of the local people, and that life needed to be understood in its proper perspective. Hunter saw at first hand the life as it existed at his time to be able so imagine how it was led at the time when the Government records dealing with the life were compiled. Hunter turned his official position to good account; in field studies in tribal tracts, for example, fellow officers provided him with the much needed local knowledge and the essential insight into the socio-religious life of the tribal people. He found his communication with the local people through interpreters and his study of the local folklores, legends and mythical accounts of considerable value for they were times complementary to and at others corrective of the impressions he had garnered from official reports on tribal life. Hunter attempted to see these primitive people through their own eyes.

Hunter also saw for himself the remains of the European factories at Balasore while writing on the "age of armed commerce"[21] in the 17th and 18th centuries when European powers' rivalry stirred the coastal villages of Orissa. He visited the tributary states of Orissa. too, to get to grips with the local administration before he would write on it. His knowledge of British relation with the states was supplemented by the papers he collected from the local rulers in which were set out their reactions to the British policy.

Hunter not only wrote at length on the caste structure of the Oriya society, but himself experienced its effect as well - his palanquin bearers belonging to one caste refused to carry the palanquin when

despite being run out of their breath, they refused to let man of other castes join them in carrying it, the result was that Hunter was considerably late in reaching his destination.[22]

Like other historians of the time Hunter, too, was anxious to correctly establish the chronology of the ruling dynasties of Orissa and the sequence of important events. The task involved the sifting of a mass of materials giving different dates of the same incidents and different explanations of why and how they occurred. Hunter critically examined the existing chronologies in the light of new finding, his own and of his contemporary researchers. An important feature of Hunter's methodology is the incorporation in his work of the results of researches made before and during his time and then to set out the results of his own researches. No wonder, his work would serve as a valuable book of reference for later researchers and a handy one.

Hunter's treatment of the Muslim rule in Orissa deserves special mention because it is marked by a conspicuous absence of a biased view of the Hindu rule in the region. Such a view was commonly seen in the contemporary later British historiography in India. The fact is particularly noteworthy because Hunter was a strong champion of the India Muslims' interest, and he urged the Government to give up its attitude of distrust towards the community and adopt instead the policy of accommodation with it; a change of policy was politic in view of the growing Indian assertion under a leadership almost wholly Hindu. Hunter seemed to have carried his point; the British official association with the Aligarh movement was indeed a significant straw in the wind; Hunter's *Indian Mussalmans*[23] was meant to be an eye for the. Government of India. Hunter depended on Muslim chronicles for the reconstruction of the history of Muslim rule in Orissa; but he was also conscious of the chroniclers' proneness to exaggerate the Muslim achievements and underestimate the prolonged Hindu resistance to Muslim authority. Hunter noted that in the Muslim chronicles, the Oriya king's invasion of Gaur had been underplayed while much had been made of Muslim successes against Oriya kings of later times. Hunter praised the "persistent valours of the Oriyas"[24] who turned back the tide of Muslim invasion time and again, while the rest of India had already succumbed to the Muslim arms. Muslim rule took indeed long to be

consolidated in Orissa due as much to the local resistance as to the geographical obstacles; the peasant militia of Orissa helped the local rulers to assert their independence, thus enabling the land to continue to remain "the stronghold of the ancient national faith".[25] That Akbar should view his conquest of Orissa as one of his "supreme triumphs"[26] was indeed a testimony to the military prowess of the land. Hunter attributed the defeat of Orissa by Akbar more to the treachery of its leaders than to the military superiority of the Muslim army. Even the consolidation of the Muslim rule in Orissa was due not so much to the 'rude valour" of their army as to the "calm unbending statesmanship of Akbar's two Hindu generals" -Todar Mall and Mansingh whose conciliatory policy to the local powerful aristocracy attached them to the Muslim rule.[27]

The degeneration of the Muslim character in the last decades of the 19th century came in for special mention in Hunter's Orissa. While admiring the brilliant successes of Muslim generals in wars against the Hindu rulers in the past, he regretted to find "so little in the Muslim character of the present day to remind us of their former greatness"[28] Like other British historians of his time Hunter viewed Islam as a new vigorous force; but he did not overlook the fact that the force needed constant replenishment to stay the effective; the success of the British over the Muslims in all parts of India clearly indicated the want of this replenishment. Hunter makes a great point when saying in a tone of regret that the British Indian army did not have "native officers of rank" while the Muslim rulers of India received ample support from "Hindu valour".[29]

It is the social life of Orissa and its evolution through the age which is most clearly reflected in Hunter's Orissa. Hunter's declared object was to portray the life of the common people, their woes and worries, the material change in their life style through the course of the political evolution of the land and its cultural development. The growth of the social institutions has been traced in Hunter's work, and social weaknesses held responsible for political decay of the land. In the development of the local socio-religious institutions, Hunter saw the key to the genius of the people and the temper of the times they lived in.

Religion had been the very basis of the social development of the Indian people, and in Hunter's words, "the history of religion is, in India, the history of the people." In Orissa, therefore, a very large space is assigned to the tracing of the evolution of the different religious faiths in Orissa. Explaining why he gave "too frequent prominence to the religious side of Orissa History", Hunter says "I have done so, from a firm belief that it forms the key to the right understanding of the people", for in Orissa, as indeed throughout all northern India, "dynastic revolutions and religious reformations have gone for centuries had in hand". Conflict of creeds "in India was no less important a study for historians than a struggle of races" through centuries.[30]

Unlike many later historians, Hunter has not dilated on the art and architecture of the many temples of Orissa; it is the social and economic life dependent on the temples which has held his attention. The various sects such as Saktism, Saivism, Vaishnavism, Trantrism and the worship of Genesha, for example, have been discussed by Hunter in the context of their development in other regions of India That some of these faiths were observed in Orissa a little differently from elsewhere did not escape his notice.

The focal point in the religious life of Orissa is the cult of Jagannath. The evolution of the cult through the ages. its root in the tribal traditions of the land, the various social groups intimately associated with the temple of Jagannath, the pilgrims and the priests, the sources of the revenue of the temple and the items of expenditure, and various other matters have been discussed by Hunter in a mingled spirit of enquiry and appreciation. Hunter has viewed Jagannath both as a deity venerated all over India and as a socio-economic institution responding to the changing political state of the land. Jagannath was patronised by successive rulers of Orissa and suffered desecration by some as well; all the Hindu kings, the Afghans, the Mughals, the Marathas and: finally, the British found out the economic potentialities of the institution. The pilgrim tax was levied as rigidly by the Muslims as by the Hindu Marathas, it being an important prop of the state revenue.

In treating the cult of Jagannath Hunter has shown a remarkably open mind in the context of the deep laid prejudice against the institution fostered by the existing missionary literature. The missionaries scathingly condemned Jagannath as the representation of the accumulated superstition of ages of the grossest vulgarity, demoralization and depravity of the local people, and as the greatest impediment to the civilising influence of Christianity. The missionaries in Orissa made a consistent effort to denigrate Jagannath by misrepresentation".[31] Hunter, by contrast, found in the cult of Jagannath the best feature of the local character catholicity, syncretism, plasticity and tolerance which had given the Orissan culture a remarkable resilience. To the "gentle doctrine of Jagannath" he attributed the far less prevalence in Orissa of the "once universal custom of widow burning".[32] Jagannath had been the people's god, a refuge for the socially ostracised and tormented individuals.

> "As long as his [Jagannath's] towers rise upon the Puri sands so long will there be in India a perpetual and visible protest of the inequality of man before God. His apostles penetrate to every hamlet of Hindustan preaching the sacrament of the Holy Food.
>
> The poor outcast learns that there is a city on the for eastern shore in which high arid low eat together, and in the presence of the Lord of the World priest and peasant are equal".[33]

Hunter was struck by the fact that the "Holy Food" never ceased to be pure or to "lose its reflected sanctity" when in the "courts of Jagannath" and outside the Lion Gate; thousands of men took it together,

> "The lowest may demand it from or give it to the highest. Its sanctity overleaps all barriers not only caste, but of race and hostile faith".[34]

Hunter himself saw a Puri priest "put to the test of receiving the food from Christian's hand".[35]

While the missionaries ridiculed the pilgrims' faith in Jagannath, Hunter was genuinely impressed by the intensity of the faith which accounted for the pilgrims stoical endurance of the inconceivable

physical suffering involved in their long trek to Puri. Hunter admired the pilgrims' orderliness and sense of discipline amidst trying conditions which merited favourable comparison with the behaviour of European crowds.[36] The missionaries, by contrast, viewed the concourse of pilgrims at Puri as an unruly mob posing health hazard to the town.

The missionaries made much of the "religious suicides" committed by pilgrims when they flung themselves under the rolling chariot of Jagannath, Hunter found such cases not only very rare in occurrence, but he also rejected the missionary contention that such act of "self immelation" was sanctioned by the Hindu religion.[37] Hunter was a keen and understanding observer of men and matters, and it is with this spirit he asks.

"We complain that the Hindus do not appreciate our English institutions or accept our beliefs. Do we rightly understand theirs"?[38]

This question appeared to him the most pertinent in regard to the cult of Jagannath and its representation in the missionary literature.

Hunter was a pioneer of the study of economic foundations of social structures. His works bearing a rare insight into the economic problems of an unchanging society. In his Orissa he established the intimate, interdependent and causal relationship between economic development and social growth. He closely studied the economy of Orissa, its agriculture, trade, cottage industries, the price level of commodities, the condition of farmers, artisans and wage earners in the context of the political changes in the land. He sought to provide social explanation to the economic backwardness of Orissa; no city life grow there, no industrial centres either, the people preferring "the humblest shed in the country to a city life",[39] where customs and practices were not "strictly in accordance with caste rules"; the rural people after coming to towns stayed clung to their accustomed village life.[40] This was in sharp contrast to Bengal where the city life tended to grow fast with rural people migrating to new urban centres.

The great increase in the population of the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore since they were brought under the British rule made it "a very perilous work for a tiger to get his living;" not even a single wild

elephant could be seen anywhere in these districts while prior to the British rule, elephants abounded there. Once impenetrable jungles were now "vast expanses of rice fields", the extension of cultivation being as much as to leave the peasants with insufficient pastures for their livestock.[41]

Hunter, like Stirling, Toynbee and Beames, dwelt on the weak economic foundations of the Maratha rule in Orissa when the state was plunged into an "abyss of human misery" due to ruthless oppression. The economic misrule of the Marathas caused depopulation in many tracts and fall in agricultural putout; it also led the local people welcome the British rule as a deliverance from half-a century remorseless "extortion and desolation" which the Maratha rule caused. The worst feature of the Maratha misrule in Orissa, according to Hunter, was the large scale sale of slaves abroad which the Ganjam records fully documented. The harried peasantry, despaired of wringing their daily bread from the soil either sold themselves across the seas, or were driven to the coast like dumb creatures, and shipped on board by their marauding Governors.[42]

The British were hard to put stop this "seagoing trade in human flesh" as long as the Marathas held the sea coast of Orissa. The Madras government officers rescued many a slave refugee from Orissa; it issued proclamations against "a practice so detriment to the country, and injurious to the rights of humanity", besides offering rewards of twenty *pagodas* for the liberation of each person discovered in the state of servitude.[43]

Hunter was a moderate and balanced approach to events and issues; he was neither a blind admirer nor a captious critic, his appreciation or condemnation depending on whether his subject deserved the one or the other. He was a liberal, but his was a

> "liberalism of the intellect, standing for the application of trained intelligence to society" which "rejected the popular, sentimental and demagegic liberalism associated with Bright and latter Gladstone".[44]

His liberal outlook was influenced by his realisation of the need to conciliate India as also by his fear of political dangers resulting from a rigid, unsympathetic attitude which both ignored the lessons of history and the strength of historical forces.[45]

This is amply clear in his view of the impact of the British rule on Orissa. Living in an age of imperial dogmatism and complacency fostered by uninterrupted British successes in arms and diplomacy throughout the world, Hunter adopted a very objective view of the British rule in Orissa; and the criticism he made of the rule was reinforced by the documentary evidence. For example, the British salt laws in Bengal and Orissa were extremely harsh, a point on which Hunter wrote :

> "I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that our system of salt duties does immense harm to the province".[46]

Hunter's study of the "Salt Statistics" of France, England and other countries of Europe and its comparison with the Indian situation convinced him that the low state of health in the Indian people was to be attributed to their insufficient consumption of salt and that the salt duty in India bore heaviest on Orissa. Not an Government reports only, but discussions with Government officers too convinced him of the fact that the consideration of the health of the poor people and not economic arguments should influence the Government's decision to restructure the salt administration in Orissa.[47]

Hunter also criticised the "injudicious system of excise administration" set up by the British in Orissa which had "practically defeated the facilities, offered by nature".[48] Hunter was against any "dishonest concealment"[49] of unpalatable facts; and it is these facts which he referred to when accounting for the local resistance to early British rule : the systematic dispossession of the native aristocracy of their land holdings, the deprivation suffered by the military retainers of the nobility, and the hasty introduction of the unfeeling police administration, for example.

He was, of course, proud of the British success in Orissa; he could hardly be expected to be otherwise :

"If we won the. great province of Orissa with little less to ourselves, it is because we deserved to do so".[50]

But then, for Hunter the measure of the success was not the case with which the British won the wars or broke the local challenges to their authority, but the efficient administration they set up which transformed Orissa from a fostering problem to earlier rulers into the most peaceful tract ofthe British Indian empire.

Hunter viewed the British rule in Orissa as a blessing to its people, but not an unmixed blessing; the impact of the rule on the traditional village life of Orissa was bad, according to him. He deplored the fast destruction of the traditionally corporate character of rural institutions when British officers ceaselessly built up "the fabric of individual rights". The British left a whole series of communal rights undefined, in the process weakening and finally destroying the village guilds on which the rural corporate life used to be based.

"We aggrandized the individual at the expense of the commune, and sacrificed the old corporate duties of the Indian village to new private rights".[51]

Hunter was all praise for the traditional judicial system in villages of Orissa; the popular courts of equity that still functioned "soften down the rigid application of the British Regulation Law", besides restraining "unscrupulous mortgages from pushing their new fangled legal rights to an oppressive length". The British rule, unfortunately, was out to progressively destroy this judicial system, unsettling in the process the entire rural fabric".[52]

Hunter was rather happy that compared to Bengal the impact of the British rule on Orissa was still considerably less, the people leading their accustomed life on which their deep religiousity still exercised "a very practical influence". "The home loving peasantry of Orissa" had but "little inclination to crime", and public opinion in rural society had a great power on the local people which had been "long lost in the great cities of Europe.[53] Hunter found the village police organisation in Orissa operating very well, and several other village institutions in their most complete form of efficacy. It was the degeneration of the village life caused by the British rule to which Hunter would attribute the deepening poverty of rural India.

Hunter's historiography is marked by a refreshing lack of bias against many an Indian custom and institution. Slavery in India, for example, was an old but human institution unlike in the west; and to the honour of the Hindus be it spoken, that anything like the barbarties of our western plantations has never been known in Hindustan".[54] While criticising several aspects of the Government in tributary princely states in Orissa, Hunter praised their "mild form of government in which people have advanced in comforts and increased in numbers". The inmates of the jails in these states which he visited looked "fat and comfortable".[55]

Hunter viewed the socio-economic life of the tribal people with considerable sympathy and understanding. The men were endowed with "primitive virtues"; he praised their "fidelity and valour" with which they had stood by their Oriya princes when the latter fought the British troops;[56] he considered it but natural for the tribals to rise against the British government, for the men were not used to any settled administration which the Government sought to bring them under. In examining the rationale of nomadic husbandry, Hunter was struck by the forest tribes' great talent "in. making a livelihood with the minimum of labour.[57] The Raja of Dhenkanal, a princely state, weaned his tribal subjects from the age-old practice of wearing leaves by distributing clothes to them- an example followed by the British government later in the princely state of Keonjhar.[58] Hunter studied the religious institutions of the tribals with the same spirit of sympathetic understanding.

Through his work Hunter appears as a reformer; though not a radical one. He wanted the British rule to provide the Indian society with the mobility it needed, but at the same time he would advise the rulers to take into consideration the feelings, sentiments and even the prejudices of the local people.[59] The early local outbreaks in Orissa against the British rule were indeed a warning against attempts at effecting rapid changes in a placid society.

The extensive coverage given by Hunter to the evolution of the administrative structure in Orissa was intended to provide some lessons to officers of the time. In elaborating the material results of the British rule in Orissa with the physical difficulties surrounding it, Hunter

wished to hold out some practical suggestions to his fellow administrators. The persistent challenge for the administrators was how to resuciate the rural life by improving agriculture, for in Hunter's view "the slenderest blade of grass has more elements of reproduction and duration than our most solid edifice of iron and stone".[60] Hunter studied the problem of rural poverty in Orissa with which was closely associated the problems of alternate droughts and floods. The control of the water supply and the most satisfactory distribution of water was the major task of the Government.

One of the still unresolved problems of the Indian administration to which Hunter drew pointed attention was "how to protect the Indian hushandmen from famine without overwhelming the Indian exchequer" by the enormous expenses which the relief measures involved. The Indian people needed to be insured against large scale death in natural calamities without having to be burdened with tax which alone would enable the Government to adopt protective measures against such calamities.

Hunter made two pointed observations which could be viewed as what he realised as lessons of history. One was that battles could lay just the basis of empires but not ensure their stability; a sound administration alone served as the cement of any regime, the soundness being measured by the peoples' attach to it, Secondly, the determining factor for the continuance of a regime was its worthwhileness and relevance at a particular point of time, the relevance being judged by its ability to meet the needs of the people at the time. This test he applied to explain the rise and fall of the Muslim power in Orissa. The Muslims ruled Orissa because they alone at that time knew how to rule; "they ceased to retain Orissa when they no longer deserved to keep." The same explanation he offered in respect of the establishment of the British rule in Orissa on the ashes of the Maratha power in the region.

Hunter's view of the history of Orissa and the way it should be read and written might be subject to criticism today in the context of the progress the science and art of history has made in recent times. Some might see his work as a study in range and not depth, no one event or issue having been probed as deeply as is the current practice in historical

researches. Some might object to Hunter's forays in anthropology, sociology and other disciplines while explaining which could be considered as nothing but historical facts. But then, judged by the standard of the historical literature of the time, when he wrote his book, Hunter did a great job in collecting all the extant materials at one place and in analysing them to establish the fact that ineluctable forces of history shape the destiny of peoples, and that it was the task of the administrator to not only govern the people but also to identify the forces and make the people aware of them. The scope of the work is indeed very wide and the issues discussed are no doubt varied; but Hunter intended the work to be such, for his object was to portray a profile of the life of the people in all its variety and complexity, the time frame being very large from the earliest times to the 1870s. That Hunter could bring so many events and issues in the compass of his work and analyse them closely to highlight the problems of the administration of what was then the most backward and the least known region of British India, is indeed a tribute to his scholarship. Hunter wrote not just history, but an administrative history, he dolved into the past with a view to understanding the present and offering lessons for the future administrators. Above all, History to Hunter was an account truthfully recorded and delightfully told, its purpose being to warn those who either ignore or are unaware of the forces moulding the changing fortunes of peoples.

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6 Beames write a series of articles on the history, culture, social institutions of Orissa and the Oriya language in *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in the years 1871-73. His article on "Notes on the History of Orissa under Muhammadan, Maratha and English Rule" was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1883. Sahu's *History of Orissa,* 2 Vols., *op.cit.,* has included reprints of Hunter's, Stirling's and Beame's works.

7 Sutten, *Orissa and its Evangelisation,* Derby, 1850.

8 James Pegg, *Present State of British connection with Idolatry in India and particularly the Government donation for the temple of Juggernaut,* London, 1834.

9 Charles Lacey, *Reflections on scenes beheld near the temple of Jagannath.*

10 W.F.B. Laurie, *Orissa, the Garden of Superstition and Idolatry,* London, 1850.

11 There are several Parliamentary Papers for the years 1812 to 1867 dealing mostly with the Jagannath temple and the pilgrim tax issue.

12 Quoted in C.H. Philips, ed., *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon,* London, 1961, p.394.

13 *Ibid.*, p.8.

14 Hunter's *Orissa* constitutes the second and third volumes of his *Annals of Rural Bengal*, London, 1868. Orissa till 1912, was an appanage of Bengal.

15 Hunter, *Orissa,* II, p.2.

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*, p.276.

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*, pp.277-78.

21 *Ibid.*, pp.41, 49.

22 *Ibid.*, p.140.

23 Published from London in 1876.

24 Hunter, II, *op.cit.*, p.4.

25 *Ibid.*, p.5.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*, p.21.

28 *Ibid.*, p.17.

29 *Ibid.*, p.15.

30 Sahu, *History of Orissa,* I, p.2.

31 For the missionary attacks on Jagannath see Prabhat Mukherjee, *History of Jagannath Temple in the 19th Century,* Calcutta, 1977, pp.203 et. Seq. 287 et seq, 294 et. Seq; also Dasarathi Swaro, *The Christian Missionaries in Orissa: Their Impact on 19th Century Society,* unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Berhampur University, 1983, pp.136-89.

32 Hunter, *Orissa,* I, contains a long account of Jagannath and the religious life of Orissa centering around it. Also, Sahu, I, pp.3-47, reprint Hunter's account of Jagannath.

33 Sahu, I, *op.cit.*, p.6.

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*, pp.40-47.

37 *Ibid.*, p.38; also p.137.

38 *Ibid.*, p.138.

39 Hunter, II, *op.cit.,* p.130.

40 *Ibid.*, p.131.

41 *Ibid.*, p.128.

42 *Ibid.*, p.62.

43 *Ibid.*, pp.62-63.

44 E.T. Stokes, "The Administrators and Historical Writing on India", in Philips, *op.cit.,* p.389.

45 *Ibid.*, p.392.

46 Hunter, II, *op.cit.,* p.159.

47 *Ibid.*, pp.152-63.

48 *Ibid.*, p.65.

49 Sahu, I, *op.cit.,* p.156.

50 Toynbee also blamed the "tyrannies of a corrupt and venal police" for provoking the people of Orissa at places to rise against the British. The British alienated and landed militia, the paiks of Orissa, who would have proved "a tower of strength to the British government" had a "liberal and conciliatory measures" been adopted towards them. Instead, their service lands were resumed by the Government, and they were subjected to the "grossest extortion and oppression at the hands of the farmers, sarbarakars and other underlings to whom the British government entrusted the collection of the revenue". Bewer's Report on the Paik rebellion, 1817 revealed the oppressive features of the early British rule in Orissa. Hunter too said about the rising; "I cannot avoid the conclusion that we ourselves were to a large extent to blame", II, *op.cit.,* p.123.

51 Hunter, II, *op.cit.,* p.59.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 182. Also, p.264.

53 *Ibid.*, p.273.

54 *Ibid.*, p.136.

55 *Ibid.*, p.61

56 *Ibid.*, pp.109, 107, 80.

57 *Ibid.*, p.116. Between 1766 and 1768 there were several tribal unrisings in Orissa in which the discontented Oriya aristocracy and their tribal subjects made a common cause against the British.

58 *Ibid.*, p.111.

59 *Ibid.*, p.116.

60 *Ibid.*

John Beames' contribution to the History of Orissa

Lalatendu Das Mohapatra

John Beames' contribution to history of Orissa has scarcely been evaluated by the historians so far. In 1956 when N.K. Sahu in his compilation of *A History of Orissa* placed before the readers he selected articles on Orissa by three British historians i.e. Andrew Stirling, W.W. Hunter and John Beames "for the glories of Orissa known to the outside world" for their writings, he chose only one article of Beames in his compilation.[1] Perhaps this is the reason why many scholars of Orissa so far know little about his contribution to the history of Orissa. Though his primary interest was philology, his conviction of independent character of Oriya language, its culture, literature and people uninfluenced by Bengali amidst the brewing controversy in the sixties of the nineteenth century led him to study few aspects of her history which buttressed his view.

John Beames was born in Greenwich on 21 June, 1837 in a lower middle class but illustrious family. His early life was passed through deep hardship as his father Rev Thomas Beames had to support his family with a meagre income of £100 per annum. When Beames was only ten years old many times he had to remain in hunger in school. But inspite of this, he showed sign of brilliance, diligence and inquisitiveness in a very tender age. Thomas Beames had a special interest in many European languages, apart from English. John also inherited these traits of his father who in a very early age of ten taught himself Latin, Greek, French and Hebrew.He had his early education in Stretham Academy and Merchant Taylors Schools. By the time he became seventeen he had already learnt many major European languages like Latin, Greek, French, Hebrew, Italian and Germany. In 1856 after passing out from Merchant Taylor, he joined Haileybury College for a career as civil servant under East India Company's administration in India. He was the last Haileyburian batch of recruits under the patronage system after which the I.C.Ss were selected through a competitive examination which was also eventually opened to the Indians. Here, for the first time he was introduced with oriental languages like Persian, Hindi and Sanskrit. He secured a gold medal in Persian and award or second position in Sanskrit and classic. This shows his interest in oriental languages. Overall he secured fourth position out

of thirty-two of his batch. In 1858 he came to India. First he was in Calcutta as a probationer. In 1859 he was posted as Assistant Commissioner in Gujrat in Western Punjab. Thereafter he was posted in Bihar. In 1869 he was promoted to the post of collector and was posted in Balasore.[2]

He came to Balasore in the backdrop of a severe animosity between a group of Oriya and Bengali intellectuals which was the fallout of Rajendra Lal Mitra's controversial speech in the Debating club of Cuttack. By that time he was already engaged for his study on comparative grammar of modern Aryan languages for which he was writing a book. It was here that he came in contact with Phakirmohan Senapatty and Govinda Chandra Pattanaik through Rev E.C.B. Hallam who was also writing an Oriya Grammar book for the English students. He learnt Oriya from both Phakirmohan and Govinda Chandra and assisted Hallam in writing the Oriya Grammar. He became so close with Phakirmohan that he asked him to meet him at least once in a week. Their discussions were invariably linguistic, though ranging over many wider topics like Sanskrit couplets, Bengali prose, Oriya *Rasa-Kallola* and snake and witches' charms. As Beames mentions in his autobiography that his workload in Balasore was not very heavy which kept him busy in some kind of studies. Even though for his book on comparative grammar he had to learn Oriya the prevailing controversy about the separateness of Oriya, as an independent language which led him to study the history of this language more intensely. Encouraged by the controversial speech of Rajendra Lal in the Debating Club of Cuttack in 1869 in which he lashed out at the educated youth of Orissa for their movement to develop Oriya into a separate language in place of Bengali which according to him was an impediment to the moral, material and intellectual progress of Orissa. In the meantime Kantichandra Bhattacharya, a Bengali school teacher of Balasore also wrote a pamphlet '*Uriya Swatantra Bhasa Nai*'(Oriya, not a separate language).The central point of the theme of this was both Oriya and Bengali being alike the former is only an offshoot of Bengali. This pamphlet evoked angry reaction in Orissa particularly among the educated youths of Balasore and Cuttack. This led Beames to counter the view in the *Journal of Asiatic Society* in an article "On the Relation of the Uriya to the other Modern Aryan Languages". The central theme of his argument was that in spite of similitude between Oriya and Bengali, Oriya cannot be labelled as a local dialect of Bengali as the similitude is more due to the use of *tatsama* words in their written

languages by their pandits. But if a *chasa* (cultivator class) of Ghumusur and Dacca are asked to speak to each other very little they could understand each others language.[3] Thereafter comparing the poems of Oriya poets, Upendra Bhanja and Dinakrishna Das with Bengali poets Vidyapati and Chandidas he says that the present Oriya language varies little from the language used by these Oriya poets whereas the language used by their contemporary Bengali poets Vidyapati and Chandidas is more alike Maithili than present Bengali. Hence, when Oriya has already become an established language, Bengali in its present form did not exist.This hypothesis rejects the notion of Bengali origin of Oriya language.

Beames has further substantiated views in his subsequent writings.The more he went in depth about this subject the more he was convinced about the independent character of Oriya language which according to him in course of history the language had been able to preserve many of its own,uninfluened by outside world.This he has frequently referred to in his few subsequent papers on Orissan history, archaeology, literatures and his Comparative Grammar on modern Aryan languages all of which were published between 1871 and 1873, a period when Oriya language stood on a real test. In his Comparative Grammar he says, "... the Bengalis assert the Oriya is merely a dialect of Bengali, and has no claim to be considered an independent language, and they mix up with this assertion a second to the effect that if it is not it ought to be, mainly because they wish it was, and secondly because the population of Orissa is so small as compared with that of Bengal that they think it useless to keep up a separate language and written character for so small a province. They further urge that the maintenance of a separate language prevents the Oriyas from learning Bengali and profiting by the vast stores of valuable literature which they consider the latter to contain. Much of this chain of arguments is purely political, and may therefore be very briefly dismissed by the following remarks. If Oriya is to be suppressed because it is only spoken by a few millions of people, it might also be urged that Dutch, or Danish, or Portuguese, should be obliterated also... when the case of Oriya comes to be considered, it must be remembered that it is spoken not only by five million in the settled and civilized districts of the sea-coast, but by an uncounted and widely dispersed mass of wild tribes inland and extends as far west as Nagpore and as far south as Telingana. In these regions it is rapidly supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects; and from its having absorbed into itself much of the non-Aryan element, it affords a far

better medium of civilization than Bengali. Moreover, it is far beyond the power of the handful of English and Bengalis settled in Orissa to stamp out the mother-tongue of all these is no doubt that Oriya has ample proof of its individuality. The poems of Upendra Bhanj and his contemporaries are written in a language which hardly differs in a single word or inflection from the vernacular of today, and every word of which is distinctly intelligible to the meanest labourer... It retains unchanged forms which are older than the oldest Bengali or Hindi, and others which can only be compared with Bengali forms of three centuries ago, but which have long since died out from that language... At a period when Oriya was already a fixed and settled language Bengali did not exist; the inhabitants of Bengal spoke a vast variety of corrupt forms of eastern Hindi.''[4]

Whether Beames views on the history of Bengali and Oriya language are acceptable to modern philologists in toto or not is a different question.But one of the celebrated philologists of modern times Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee also believes that among the three speeches- Oriya, Bengali and Assamse, Oriya has preserved great many archaic features in both grammar and pronunciation. It is therefore not wrong to say that "Oriya is the eldest of the three sisters, when we consider the archaic character of the language.''[5]Thus to Chatterjee the relationship between Bengali and Oriya are two sisters, not mother and daughter.

About the written character of Oriya, Beames says, 'whether the Oriyas received the art of writing from Bengal or from Central India is a question still under dispute. The probabilities are strongly in favour of the latter supposition. In the flourishing times of the monarchy of Orissa, the intercourse with central and Southern India was frequent and intimate. Raja Churanga (or Saranga) Deva, the founder of the Ganga dynasty, which ruled from A.D. 1131 to 1451, came form the south, and was said in native legends to be a son of the lesser Ganges (Godavari)... In fact, the early annals of Orissa are full of allusions to the central and southern Indian States, while Bengal is scarcely ever mentioned. Indeed, the Oriya monarchs at one time did not bear sway beyond the Kansbans, a river to the south of Baleswar (Balasore) and there was thus between them and Bengal a wide tract of hill and forest....'' Further to him the Oriya characters in their present form present a marked similarity to those employed by the non-Aryan nations like Telugu, Malayalam, Tamil, Singhalese and Burmese, whose chief peculiarity consists in their

spreading out the ancient Indian letters" into elaborate mazes of circular and curling form." The reason of its being so round and curling is to be found in the materials of palm-leaf and iron style which they use for writing. They show signs of having arisen from a form of the Kutila character prevalent in central India.[6] This view was based on the written character of the copper-plate grant to Poteswar Bhatta, the ancestor of the Zemindars of Garhpada by king Purusottam Deva in the sixteenth century.About its written character he says that the archaic form of the letters renders it very valuable as showing the gradual development of the modern Oriya alphabet from a southern variety of the *Kutila* type.[7]

His strong conviction that Orissa, before Chaitanya had hardly any interaction with Bengal for which there was little possibility of them being influenced by the Bengali's either linguistically or culturally was based on an assumption that between river Kansabansa in the south of Balasore and Ganga river there was vast tract of forest which kept apart the people from both sides. This assumption was based both on philological and topographical study. In his first paper "On the Relation of the Uriya to the other Modern Aryan Languages" he suggested that the Oriyas came to Orissa through Bengal. But later in his comparative Gammar he revised his view and opined, "We know from history that the Oriya race did not enter Orissa from the north, through Bengal, but form the west, across the mountains which separate it from the southern limits of Bihar. Many of the words of the language have the Bihar type of Hindi, and resemble Bengali only in those respects in which Bengali itself resembles Hindi."[8] The theory of a jungle separating between Orissa and Bengal in the early part has been found in at least three of his papers written around 1872. In his paper "The Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa" he says that the isolation of northern Orissa from both Orissa and Bengal was attributable to the area being covered "With dense jungle, which extended apparently with hardly any break to the banks of the Hooghly." He visited Raibania near Jaleswar during this time to witness the ruinous forts of that area, which even in the late nineteenth century was an obscure village. After visiting the area and examining the ruinous fort he thought that those were built by Mukunda Deva, the last independent king of Orissa around 1550 A.D. In his time Orissa faced repeated Afghan invasions from Bengal. Hence to guard the enemy he felt the necessity of constructing a fort in the jungle of northern Orissa. The Gangas who came from the south were great builders whose temples, palaces and tanks according to him, still adorned the southern part of the province. Hence it was possible that, they would not have

been contented with so comparatively clumsy and inartistic forts as Raibania. The density of forests in those areas was also proved by the frequency of names of places in which the word *ban* occurs as *Banchas,Banahar,Banpada* and *Bankai.*[9] In his "The History of Orissa under the Mahomedan, Maratha and English Rule," though published in 1883, but written around 1872, the same view has been elaborated. To him the name 'Baleswar' has been derived from Baneshwara, the forest-lord in which name a Shiva temple existed then in old Balasore. The existence of Balasore town before Mughal period has not been proved in history, but its development owed a great deal to European activities only in the time of Muslim period, when its road with Bengal was also opened up. Again according to him between Kansabansa and the frontier of Bengal there was not a vestige of a single fort, temple, palace or bridge "that can be traced or attributed to any older period than the sixteenth century. It is hardly possible that if this part of the country had been inhabited, the kings and rich men who so lavishly spent their wealth in the rest of the province on temples and forts, should not have erected a single stone building in a place where stone abounds." Also to supplement his views he has cited the example of numerous tenures of a kind originally granted for the purpose of clearing and settling forest land. Those tenures, so numerous in northern Balasore, were hardly known in the south of the Kansabans except in the hills. One example of such land grants, as already cited was the copper-plate grant to Poteswar Bhatt. The grant of 1408 *batis* or 28,160 acres so vast a land to a single Brahman, suggests the native tradition that Garhpada and the adjacent country was at that time uninhabited, or at least only sparsely peopled.[10]

This jungle theory of Beames separating Orissa from Bengal, however came under fire from Rajendra Lal Mitra,to whom any notion attributing the growth and formulation of Oriya language and culture without the influence of Bengal was not acceptable. To him *Bana* in India means a grove, a park or tope- as well as the forest. Even if Baleswar was derived from the word Baneswar, implying forest land, it was only the town, but not necessarily the entire district. To him though philological argument of Beames suggests the migration of Oriya people to Orissa from Magadh through Central India as Balasore was not approachable, many recorded events in the history of Orissa which suggested her intercourse with Magadh, might not have taken place through central India. He also cites the example of a Buddhist legend to suggest that direct contact with Bengal from Orissa was possible in the early days.[11] Giving however a mild and polite reply to Rajendra Lal,

Beames said that after he came into contact with Midnapore district in his capacity as the Commissioner of Burdwan Division,[12] it confirmed his opinion that Orissa was colonized from Bihar and not from Bengal, and Oriya is a more archaic form of Magadhi Parakrit than an offshoot of Bengali.[13]

About her indigenous literatures, folklore and social system, he says that Orissa preserved many things of its own, totally uninfluenced by outside India. Observing the caste system in northern Orissa, he in his article "On the sub-divisions of the Brahman caste in Northern Orissa" says, some of the typical Bengali surnames like Ghosh and Bose (Basu) in Balasore belonged to low caste Hindus like Raju and Gokhas in contrast to Bengal where they were respectable Kayasta caste. Secondly, the *gotra* names of the Brahmins were for the "most part patronymics from well-known Rishis, and are identical with many of those still in use in the North-Western Provinces." This circumstance seems to add confirmation to the legend of origin or migration of ten thousand Brahmins from Kanauj to Orissa."[14] This legend again supplements his earlier stand that a principal section of Oriya community was of northern origin but not the offshoot of Bengalis.

Understandably about the modern Oriya literature, Beames had no admirable opinion, as his was the formative stage of modern Oriya works. As he said only few prose works were of considerable merit, but no originality, being either translations or adaptations from the English and Bengali. But that was the period of awakening for the Oriyas about whom he says "The Oriyas are beginning to wake up but none of them have yet received sufficient cultivation to make them really good authors." But it was her medieval literatures, which had won his appreciations about whom he wrote two articles. In "The Indigenous literature of Orissa" he said if Oriya held a low place in its group of Aryan languages, it was owing to its obscurity. But in many respects, this was one of the most interesting languages of the Aryan group as "Owing to its long isolation from the rest, it has preserved words and forms which have perished from them, and exhibits at times very singular developments of its own." He has appended eighty-two medieval epics which were then available in the form of palm-leaf in the three coastal districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri. To him *Rasakallola* of Dinakrishra Das, composed in the early part of the sixteenth century, was the most celebrated Oriya poem, which were even frequently heard at village meetings and most educated Oriyas knew whole cantos by

heart. The chief merit of the poem is its versification, being fluent and graceful. Writing an essay separately on it, he says, the songs which were sung by the peasantry in every part of the country, many of its lines have passed into proverbs, and have become "household words," with all classes. The main cause of its popularity was its comparative freedom from long Sanskrit words, being for the most part, except when the poet soared into the higher style, written in the purest and simplest Oriya vernacular. Comparing the language of its second canto with the language of medieval Bengali poet Vidyapati, he said at the time Dinakrishna wrote this epic, the Bengali language did not exist in its modern form. Vidyapati's language was merely a dialect of Eastern Hindi, which was sufficient to refute Bengalis' pretensions that Oriya was merely a dialect of their own. Another merit of this poem, unlike oldest Hindi and Gujrati, was its readiness with which the poet's native language lent itself to the metres which he employed. In the latter class of poems one was not sure that the languages of the poets were actually spoken by the contemporary people, but in *Rasakallola,* except an occasional dialresis, the language was the same as that in which the gentle and refined Oriya clodhopper fondly cursed his wife or his bullocks, or grumbled over his daily pill of adulterated opium, what Beames observed in Orissa.[15] To substantiate his views that, the Bengali in its modern form did not exist, when Oriya was an established language, he in the same year in 1873, elaborating in a separate discussion of the works of Vidyapati and Chandi Das in two essays, concludes that the language used by these two poets may more properly be called old Maithili than Bengali, which is nearly identical with the language spoken in Tirhut, Mungher and Bhagalpur."As the Aryan race grew and multiplied it naturally poured out its surplus population in Bengal and it is not only philologically obvious that Bengali is nothing more than a further, and very modern development of the extreme eastern dialect of Hindi."[16]

Of course, Beames' comparison of Dinakrishra Das' *Rasakallola* with Vidyapati and Chandi Das' works may not be fair, as modern scholars place Dinakrishna to early seventeenth century. But this does not necessarily detract him from the centrality of his view that, Bengali in its modern form did not exist in a time when Oriya became a full-fledged language. The language used by Sarala Das in his *Mahabharata,* who definitely belonged to the first half of the fifteenth century, rarely differs from the language spoken by the people in the nineteenth century. He wrote the *Mahabharata* in the time of Gajapati Kapilendra

Deva (1436-1466) about whom he mentions in his epic. Since he belonged to Jhankada of modern Jagatshinghpur district, the language used by him was spoken in that area, which is said to be one of the purest specimen of Oriya. The *Bhagabata* in Oriya, composed by Jagannath Das during the reign of Prataparudra Deva, the grandson of Kapilaendra Deva, was accepted by the later Oriya poets as standard language. Many manuscripts of these two poets are still being collected from almost every corner of the state including Midnapore in West Bengal, showing immense popularity of their literatures among the masses. Till the first half of the twentieth century *Bhagabata Tungi* had been a very common culture in majority of the villages in Orissa, where in every evening Jagannath Das' *Bhagabata* was used to be recited among large gathering of audiences which comprised all sections of people. However, these two poets had not been adequately canonized by the literary critics of Orissa until the last part of the nineteenth century. Since Dinakrisha Das belonged to Jaleswar of Balasore district, his *Rasakallola* was very popular in Balasore, for which it could be introduced to Beames by the local scholars like Phakirmohan and Gobinda Chandra Pattanayak. Had he taken into discussion the *Mahabharata* of Sarala Das and *Bhagabata* of Jagannatha Das, they would have lent much more credence to his views.

Apart from "The Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa", Beames had also three papers on Orissan archaeology. Having viewed the remains in Kopari in Balasore district and Chhatia in Cuttack district he came to the conclusion that both the Buddhist shrines have been later converted into Hindu shrines. Hence some of the displacement and destruction of the Buddha images were willful, though some were also accidental.[17] He wrote a paper on the remains of Alti and Udaygiri hills near Dharmasala. But it was only a narrative paper.[18]

Beames' last paper on Orissa was on the political geography of Orissa as described by Abul Fazl in *Ain-i-Akbari* published in 1896 in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*. This was of course not a separate paper on Orissa but part of a series on the geography of Mughal India as depicted in the *Ain*, which were published in two volumes in the *Journal of Asiatic Society* in 1884 and 1885 under the caption 'On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar'. In these volumes he had covered Avadh and Bihar. The Bengal portion of *Ain* was discussed in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* in 1896 under the caption 'Subahs and the Ain-i-Akbari, Bengal and Orissa" in which Orissa has been dealt with in the second section. *Ain-i-Akbari* has always been a very resourceful material

for the historians for constructing an objective history of Mughal India during Akbar. It drew the frequent attention of the early British officials for knowing in detail about the nature of revenue system and land-holdings in pre-British period on the basis of settlement made by Raja Todar Mal in 1582 in each Mughal province. In view of this its translation from Persian to English was essential for the English civilians. The Asiatic Society of Bengal which in its repository had a manuscript of *Ain,* entrusted this work to Prof Blochmann who published an article on Bengal as depicted in *Ain* under the caption "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal"in the *Journal of Asiatic Society*. But after his early demise the work was entrusted to Colonel Jarret who completed it successfully.But what prompted Beames to reconstruct the geography of Mughal India especially of Bengal, Bihar and Avadh was that neither Blochmann nor Jarret were personally totally familiar with the places found in *Ain* in spite of their in-depth knowledge in Persian. Many names found in different manuscripts of Ain are either confusing or misleading as Persian words are easily distinguishable by small dots. Moreover Todar Mal's settlement in Bengal and Orissa which was made in 1582 cannot be said to have given the complete scenario as these two provinces were then not effectively subdued by the Mughals. As for example with regard to Orissa he says, Todar Mal's lists "are very imperfect, and cannot be taken as covering the whole territory of Orissa. A very large number of undoubtedly ancient and important estates are omitted, and the revenue assigned to others bear no proportion to their known extent. Stirling, indeed, who was intimately acquainted with the province in the early days of British rule, asserts that a measurement of the lands was made, and that the accounts still preserved in the offices of the Sadr Kanungos, or Keepers of the Revenue Accounts, are founded on that measurement, but he could find no evidence or information as to the means by which the determination of the rents and revenues was arrived at, and it is highly probable that the measurement dragged on over many years, and the assessment of revenue was not finally made till long after Todar Mal's time." Of course Beames' intention was to make a correct identification of the places as mentioned in *Ain* of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar, which he claims to have become possible by his acquaintance with these places in his capacity as civilians there in different times. Hence this work of Beames, perhaps has not lost its relevance even today to the students of history who may use it as good supplement to the translations of Blochmann and Jarret for correctly identifying many places of Orissa in *Ain*.

Obviously, Beames cannot be rated as a historian of the same stature as W.W. Hunter. His main interest being primarily language, history was only secondary. Except his "Notes on the History of Orissa under the Mahommedan, Maratha and English Rule" and "Notes on Akbar's Subahs,with reference to the Ain-i-Akbari", he is not known to have written any other paper exclusively on any theme of history. The writing of the former was necessitated for his proposed "Manual of the District of Balasore'' in which it was the second chapter. Unfortunately, the manual remained unpublished, as Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant Governor did not approve it because of his personal disliking for Beames. Had it been published, some of his precious observations about Balasore district would have come to light. In this paper on the history of Orissa, he had gone through few official records pertaining to Maratha and British period. Though the work was more narrative, than analytical it was a comprehensive history of Orissa pertaining to Mughal, Maratha and British period which was a good supplement to the works of Stirling and Hunter. But inspite of his limited access to historical data, some of the conclusions which he arrived at on the basis of philological study was surprisingly in consistent with the views of later scholars who disagreed with many of the views expressed by Hunter. Beames had not consulted *Madalapanji,* a chronicle on Jagannath temple at Puri. But relying on the views of A. Stirling whose history of Orissa was considerably based on *Madalapanji,* he successfully traced the southern origin of the Ganga kings of Orissa, which was not in consistent with the views expressed by Elphinstone and Hunter. Though like Stirling, Hunter also heavily relied on *Madalapanji* for his history of Orissa, he deliberately seems to have chosen a vaguely expressed view of Elphinstone, attributing the Bengali origin of the Ganga king. To him the bank of the Ganges near Tamluk was the original homeland of the Gangas. But this view of Hunter was again self-contradictory to whom Tamluk in Midnapore district was a regular part of Orissa. By attributing the Bengali origin of the Ganga kings, he sided with the Bengali elites in the letters "campaign against the separate identity of the Oriyas". About the art of Konark temple he views them as climax of the Bengal art. All these views encouraged the later Bengali intellectuals and historians like Bankim Chandra, Nagendra Nath Basu, Manmohan Ganguli and Bijay Chandra Majumdar to expand their views in some aspects or others in which they made a link to the Bengali origin of the Oriya people.[19]

His greatest contribution to Orissan historiography was that his was the first micro-level study on any single aspect of Orissan history, archaeology and literatures many of which perhaps have not lost their relevance even today. He did not label Oriya as a great nation, but he definitely appreciated them for preserving many of their originalities in culture, literature and language which provided a boost to the morale of the educated Oriyas to rediscover themselves in a period when the inferiority complexion of the nation was at its lowest ebb. His views on the archaic nature of the Oriya language later provided the impetus to scholars like R.N. Cust and Manmohan Chakravarti to make more independent enquiry on the subject and arrive at a definite conclusion. It was Man Mohan Chakravarti in 1897, who on the basis of inscriptions traced the Ganga origin to the south which confirmed the views expressed by Beames, at least thirty years before. Manmohan also sided with Beames with regard o the origin of the Oriya language, to whom it was an off shoot of Magadhi Prakrit not Bengali.He even dated back its origin to seventh century A.D.[20]

Whatever may be the correctness of the views of Beames on Orissa and Oriya, his writings could not have come in a much more appropriate time than in the early seventies of the nineteenth century, when the existence of the Oriya language was in serious danger on the question of its identity.

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6 Beames, *A Comparative Grammar... op cit.,* pp 63-65

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17 Beames, "The Ruins at Kopari, Balasore District", *Journals of Letters of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1871, pp 217-50; "More Buddhist Remains in Orissa", *Journals of Letters of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1872, pp 7-8

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19 L.K. Mishra and S.K. Mishra, *Historians and Historiography of Orissa,* New Delhi 2005, pp.163-65.

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Rama Prasad Chanda's Contribution for the Cultural Identity of Mayurbhanj: A Historiographical Study

Laxmi Kanta Mishra

Rama Prasad Chanda was basically a museologist. As his posting was in the archaeological section of Indian Museum in Calcutta, he evinced interest in Archaeology and acquired knowledge in the archaeological methods and techniques of exploration and excavation. As an archaeologist he contributed significantly for the reconstruction of the cultural archaeology and historical past of erstwhile Mayurbhanj State. He was contemporary of great scholars like Sir John Marshall, R.D. Banerjee, D.R. Sahani, M.M.Ganguly, M.M.Chakravarty, B.M.Barua, B.C.Majumdar, Krupasindhu Mishra, and Jagabandhu Singh etc. Rama Prasad Chanda stands unique among all these veteran scholars in the sense that he engaged himself in archaeological and historical researches in a purely academic fashion. In analyzing the works of R.P. Chanda we usually find scientific precision and objective orientations. He took up explorations in different parts of coastal Orissa including that of the erstwhile princely state of Mayurbhanj only because he was asked to do so by Sir John Marshall who was deeply influenced by the example set by Lord Curzon, best known for his keen interest in archaeology and preservation of monuments having antiquarian values. As Chanda was associated with Indian Museum, so he was more interested to collect antiquarian objects to be displayed in the museum gallery. As the archaeology section of the Indian Museum was under his supervision, so he had the privilege of editing the Annual Reports and the Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, which was then being published from Calcutta. Then the central publication branch of Government of India was operating from Calcutta. Most of the reports of Archaeological Survey of India during the period from 1920 to 1930 were edited by Rama Prasad Chanda. His association with Government of India was a major handicap in providing objective treatment to historical analysis of the findings and evidences.

Rama Prasad Chanda undertook archaeological surveys and excavations in Mayurbhanj being invited by Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo, the enlightened ruler of Mayurbhanj. Mayurbhanj was the first among the Princely States of Orissa, which witnessed systematic historical and

archaeological investigation. This was because of a series of elite and enlightened and progressive rulers of the state like Sri Rama Chandra Bhanj Deo (1892-1912) and his sons Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo and Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo. It was Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo who ruled for a very short period from 1922 to 1928. He evinced keen interest in historical studies and invited archaeologists and historians from Calcutta in order to undertake such scholarly enterprises. The basic aim of Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo was to situate the cultural importance of Mayurbhanj in the socio-political map of Eastern India. Such endeavours were not unique to the local historians of India and most prominent were the works on the Rajputs and Marathas as martial races. But these racial groups were having distinct provincial identities. But here in case of Mayurbhanj it was not the case of a race or a tribe, which was important, but establishment of a clear-cut cultural identity of a small locality like Mayurbhanj. The purpose might be to place Mayurbhanj distinctly from the rest of Orissa. May be it was due to a long-term plan of the state administration of Mayurbhanj to claim a separate provincial status for the kingdom. However the period between 1922 to 1928 witnessed large scale surveys and explorations conducted by R.P. Chanda both in the State of Mayurbhanj and other parts of Orissa for which the cultural archaeology of Mayurbhanj could be reconstructed. R.P. Chanda not only restricted his works to the location of archaeological sites but also evinced interest in collecting archival sources for reconstructing the political and cultural history of Mayurbhanj from earliest time to the British period. The survey reports of R.P.Chanda were published in the Archaeological Survey of India Reports and Memoirs from 1922-23 to 1930. Although Chanda started his historical surveys only being deputed by Sir John Marshall in 1922 but he continued his work without any interruption and was successful enough in amassing vast amount of source materials, which were left to posterity for being investigated upon by the scholars. Through out his endeavours he received academic assistance from Paramananda Acharya, the then State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj. As a result of such meticulous historical research works, the total history of Mayurbhanj could be written in 1949.

R.P.Chanda devoted more than two decades of his professional career for researching the history and archaeology of Mayurbhanj. The major works, which were produced by R. P. Chanda, are as follows:

1. "Palaeographic Tests and the date of Kharavela", *Proceedings of Indian Conference*, (2nd session, Calcutta, 1922), Vol. II, p. LII

2. "Kharavela", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (1923).

3. "The Lingaraja or Great Temple of Bhubaneswar", *Annual Report of Arch. Survey of India*; 1923-24, Calcutta, 1926, pp.119-122,2 pls.

4. "Notes from the Madalapanji (Muhammadan Conquest of Orissa)", in: *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XIII, 1(1927), pp.10-27.

5. "Notes on the Ancient Monuments of Mayurbhanj", in *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XIII, 2(1927), pp.131-136,10 pls.

6. "Zur Geschichte indischer Goetterbilder Mitbesonderem Hinweis auf einige neuentideckte, Statues in Mayurbhanj", in: Ostas, Zeitschr (1927), PP.44-47, 4 ills.

   (History of Indian sculptures of deities with special reference to some newly discovered images in Mayurbhanj, (in German).

7. *Bhanja Dynasty of Mayurbhanj and their Ancient Capital Khiching,* Mayurbhanj, Publ. By P.Acharya, Archaeological Deptt. 1929, 44 pp. 24 pls (Reprints from *An. Rep. Arch. Survey of India-* 1922-23, 1923-24 and 1924-25 and from the *J. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.* XIII, 2(1927) 131-136.

8. *Bhanja Dynasty of Mayurbhanj and their Ancient Capital Khiching,* Mayurbhanj, Publ. By P. Acharya, Arch. Deptt., 1929, pp. 44, 30 pls.

9. "Sculptures of Khiching", *A.R. Archaeological Survey* (1929/30), 221f. 1pl.

10. "Exploration in Orissa", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India,* No. 44, Calcutta- Arch. Survey of India (1930), 27P.

11. "Art in Orissa", in *J. Royal Society of Arts.* LXXXII (1933) 1011-28, 8 ills.

12. *Selections from Official letters and records relating to the History of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, Baripada, Mayurbhanj, 1942
13. "Art in Orissa", in *Modern Review* LVI, 3(1933) 342-44, 3 ills.
14. *Selections from Official letters and records relating to the History of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. II, Baripada, Mayurbhanj, 1943.
15. *History of Mayurbhanj*, Part I Calcutta, 1949, pp.141 and App.43

R.P. Chanda started his work in 1922. He was deputed by Sir John Marshall to visit the ancient sites of Mayurbhanj. He received active support of K.P. Bose and his son S.P. Bose. K.P. Bose was responsible for the establishment of the Department of Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj during 1907-08. It was in 1922 that K.P. Bose took R.P. Chanda with him and made a round of the state showing various sites and explaining their potentiality. After the death of K.P. Bose in 1925 his son S.P Bose was appointed as supervisor in the Department of Archaeology in 1927. S.P. Bose received training in Archaeology during the period from 1922-23 to 1928-29. R. P. Chanda was merely the honorary advisor of the Department of Archaeology in the state of Mayurbhanj. R. P. Chanda also trained Paramananda Acharya in archaeology during this period. Both Chanda and Acharya worked very closely together and the combined effort of both of them led to the publication of important books like, *Bhanja Dynasty of Mayurbhanj and their Ancient Capital Khiching* in 1929, *Selections from Official Letters and Records Relating to the History of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I (1942), Vol. II (1943) and *History of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I in 1949.

The first work[1] is virtually a compilation of reports published in the *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India* (1922-23, 1923-24, 1924-25 and reprints from the *Journal of Bihar Orissa Research Society*, June 1927. The Appendix-I provided at the end of the book are extracts from the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XIII (1874-75 and 1875-76). The Appendix-II contained extracts from Lieut. Tickell's Memoirs on Hodesum (Improperly called Kolehan) published in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IX. What prompted Chanda to make this compilation is difficult to understand, because all

these were published in the recent past. The objective might be a long term one with the ultimate aim of writing the complete history of Mayurbhanj.

About his first visit to Mayurbhanj in November 1922 he has stated, " I proceeded to Mayurbhanj in the middle of November and visited some of the more important sites in course of week's tour. As the photographer of the Archaeological Section was then ill, Mr. Percy Brown, the Principal of the Government School of Art and Officer in charge of the Art Section of the Indian Museum rendered timely assistance by kindly lending the services of his photographer Munsi Sher Muhammad. During my short tour in the state, the Mayurbhanj Darbar very courteously afforded all possible facilities for the work and deputed two officers, Mr. Kamakshya Prasad Bose, a keen student of Mayurbhanj Archaeology and Pandit Tarakesvar Gangooly to act as my guides. Besides Baripada, the Capital of the State, we visited Haripur, Manitri, Barsai and Khiching[2].

R.P.Chanda observed that Mayurbhanj was the largest and the most populous of the 24 Garjat States of Orissa. Further he tried to provide Bengali influences on Mayurbhanj. He stated, "The proximity of the State of Bengal explains the strong influence exercised by the styles of architecture that prevailed in Bengal in succession over the architecture of Mayurbhanj. The ruling family, which bears the title of Bhanja and has the peacock for its emblem is probably one of the oldest now surviving in India"[3]. About the origin of the Bhanja family, he discussed about the Rajput origin of the Bhanja family. First of all he took in to consideration the arguments of Cobden Ramsay who stated, "According to tradition the Mayurbhanj State was founded some 1300 years ago by one Jai Sing who was a relative of the Raja of Jaipur in Rajaputana"[4]. Further he took into consideration the statements of James Princep. Jemes Princep referred to a note by Lt. Kittoe in which it is stated that the Bhanja Rajas are branches of the Mayurbhanji family who again claimed descent from the Royal house of Chitor. They are of the Suryabansi tribe of Rajputs"[5]. Chanda was not inclined to accept these theories as genuine unless corroborated by independent contemporary evidences. After carefully considering various traditions and legends associated with the ruling families of Boud, Daspalla and Ghumsar and

their relationship with the Bhanja family of Mayurbhanj, Chanda tried to provide a Brahmanic Gotra (Vasistha) identity to the Bhanja rulers of Mayurbhanj. By this attempt he provided a Kasyapa identity to the Bhanja rulers of Boud, Dasapalla and Ghumsar[6]. In order to find the Gotra Lineage of the ruling housing of these states, he consulted Babu Basudeo Misra, Superintendent of the Boud State and Babu Bhabagrahi Biswal, Superintendent of the Dasapalla State.

Thus from the very beginning Chanda probably had the vision of providing a distinct cultural and political identity to the Mayurbhanj State. During his short tour in 1922 he visited Haripur, Mantri and Barsai. These sites have earlier been surveyed by N.N. Vasu[7]. In comparison to these sites Khiching was the best as regards the antiquarian values. Khiching had been visited by J.D.M. Beglar during 1874 and 1876, who was an assistant of A. Cunningham. The notes on his visit is described in Cunningham's Report, Vol. XIII, p. 74-75 and the place in this report is being described under the name Kichang.

Chanda located two fortified palaces at Khiching. These were in ruins. The most extensive fort was known as Viratgarh situated on the river Khairbhandan. The other one was known as Kichakgarh. Both Kichak and Virat were important characters in Mahabharata. The family deity of the ruling chief was 'Kichakesvari'. The particular idol is represented by an image of Chamunda in three pieces installed in a small plain brick-built shrine on a mound in the center of the Thakurani compound at Khiching. Chanda found the image being broken into pieces but resting on the original pedestal around which the old temple stood. Chanda noticed around the Khandiya Deul large number of images and sculptures scattered heither and theither. Strangely the faces of the most of the images were in good condition but the bodies were broken. Among the collections two images of the Sun God are important. Out of these two only one is found in a seating condition. He found some peculiarities in the scroll decoration or absence of decoration in the back slab and the lower half of the figures being carefully finished. This led him to conclude that a local school of sculpture was existing in Khiching and it grew in isolation[8]. This is undoubtedly a sweeping conclusion. Besides the Khandiya Deul and the small shrine of Thakurani, there were three other temples such as

Dhavalesvara Mahadev Temple, Jatesvara Mahadev Temple and Siddhesvara Mahadev Temple. All these temples were remarkable for their sculptures and building style. Within the compound he found the Chandrasekhar temple standing intact. The plinth (Kati) and the walls of the cella of the said temple were in good conditions but the Amalasara (finial) of the Sikhara of the temple had fallen down. He found the limbs and jambs of the doorway being decorated and figures of the doorkeepers Chanda and Prachanda being well finished. The temple was devoid of plumb and inclining backwards. One interesting observation about the temples of Khiching was that these were developed independent from the Kalinga style of architecture. "One very peculiar feature about this (Chandrasekhar Temple) and other temples of Khiching is the absence of any Mukhamandap or Porch. This feature shows that the architecture of Khiching stands apart from Great Orissa Group of temples and is more closely related to the styles of Bengal"[9]. Outside the Thakurani compound there were good numbers of temples out of which the Itamandia or the 'Brick Hall' and the Kutaitundi temple are important. There were remains of a brick temple on the mound at the site of Itamundia. Parts of the temple were hidden inside the mound. Earlier in 1908 Kamakshya Prasad Bose found an inscribed image of Marichi and a small-inscribed image of Avalokitesvara and excavated a big image of Buddha in 'Bhumisparsa Mudra' (earth touching posture). Chanda noticed inferiority in the workmanship of these images from Itamandia and assigned the same to the declining period of Khiching. But strangely he never discussed about the time span relating to origin, growth and decline of Khiching School of Architecture.

Among all the temples that mostly attracted the attention of Chanda was Nilakanthasvara temple, popularly known as Kutai Tundi temple. He was of the opinion that 'this' small temple was in the Indo-Aryan style without a porch. The temple was in a dilapidated condition and its plinth and carved stones are buried in debris. Chanda considered this temple as the best of the temples in Khiching. He has stated, "When in perfect preservation this temple was really a gem and most have compared favourably with the best of the temples of Bhubaneswar. The spire has a dangerous crack and is sure to collapse unless adequate measures are taken for its preservation. If this masterpiece of

architecture is to be handed down to posterity it will probably be necessary to dismantle the whole structure and then re-build it with the old material "[10]. From this observation the vision and farsight of R.P. Chanda may be studied. The idea of resetting the structure was later on applied by Archaeological Survey of India in dismantling and restructuring the monumental architecture of the submerged area of Nagarjuna Sagar Dam.

As regards the evolution of the Khiching School of Architecture Chanda opined, "Thus the earliest and most beautiful of the temples and sculptures at Khiching should be assigned to the time of the early Bhanja Kings named in the copper plate grants, i.e. to the 11th or 12th century A.D. The structures like the Khandiya Deul built on an older mound and the remains of the laterite temples indicate that the prosperity of Khiching continued for few centuries more but it will not be possible to recover the lost history of the site till the mounds etc. are explored with the spade"[11]. It is to be noted here that the Khiching School flourished at a time when the temple building activity reached its climax in Bhubaneswar under the patronage of the Somavamsis. As Dandabhukti Mandala was within the territorial domains of the Somavamsis, so it may safely be presumed that northern Orissa comprising Balasore, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar were within the territorial boundaries of the Somavamsis during 11th and 12th century A.D. Thus it was definitely not under the subjugation of any kingdom from Bengal country. The Somavamsi dominion was extended up to Midnapur region in Southern Bengal as it is revealed from the copper plate grants of Yayati II and Udyota Keshari. From this it may be deduced that Mayurbhanj because of its proximity to Utkal or Toshala country which is more close than that of Bengal that the architectural activity of Mayurbhanj had the impact of the Bhubaneswar School of Architecture.

During November 1923 and January 1924 R.P. Chanda engaged himself in excavating the precincts of the Thakurani Temple at Khiching. He was accompanied by Babu Paresh Nath Bhattacharya (later on relieved by Munsi Mahiduddin), the gallery assistant; Babu Anath Bandhu Maitra, photographer and drafts man of the Archaeological Section of Indian Museum; Mr Phanibhusan Bose, Professor of Indian History, Visva Bharati, Santiniketan and

Paramananda Acharya, then scholar of the State Archaeology Department of Mayurbhanj. The entire cost of the excavation was borne by the Mayurbhanj State. Some local officials like Mr. Brindaban Chandra Panda, the Sub-divisional officer of Panch Pir and Babu Radhashyam Naik, the Sardar of Adipur also rendered valuable assistance. The excavation conducted in the mound resulted in the discovery of the foundation of an older Siva temple below the plinth of the Khandiya Deul. The temple belonged to 11th century A.D. and it was as big as the Rajarani or the Brahmesvara Temple of Bhubaneswar[12]. About 22 yards to the north of the foundation of this old Shiva temple the plinth of another small temple was discovered. The temple was probably named after the name of the Lingam and it was popularly called the 'Jatesvara Temple'. This temple collapsed as a result of the subsidence of the sub-soil. A large number of images and finely carved architectural pieces were recovered during the course of exploration and excavation in the area.

He found similarity in the scrollwork and patterns of the temple of Shiva and of Jatesvara with the temples of Bhubaneswar. He collected about 50 specimens of decorative figure sculptures and identified them as products of the same school. Particularly he tried to draw the attention of the scholars to a smiling female figure and identified the same as being modeled in Orissan style. But he tried to provide a different identity to the same figure by stating, " ... but the subtle smile on the face, the flow of live and the rhythmic action of the limbs invest it with charm all its own"[13]. Further about the bigger figures, he tried to show these being free from any influence of medieval Orissan sculpture. He has stated, "The bigger figures disclose a different current of influence. The images of the Gods and Goddess installed in the medieval temples of Orissa are characterized by certain peculiarities of feature and particularly by their short broad faces. The more regular and pleasant features of the images of Khiching indicate the influence of the art of upper India. But what places them on an even higher artistic level than the later medieval sculptures of upper India and Orissa is a touch of real creative power and relative freedom from the conventionality. The material used soft chlorite is favourable to delicate chiseling "[14]. This interpretation is found to have been a reflection of narrow parochialism

in favour of Mayurbhanj State. The Somavamsi period witnessed several experimentation in architecture and sculpture through the length and breadth of the whole empire. Local variations were due to such experimentations. The analysis of R.P. Chanda is thus biased in favour of Mayurbhanj.

Besides Hindu architecture and sculpture several Buddhist and Jaina remains were discovered from around Khiching. Chanda opined that under the early Bhanja chiefs, Khiching was developed into a prosperous town. "All the three major religions such as Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism flourished side by side and a local school of sculpture grew up while assimilating the best elements of the art of Orissa and upper India possessed newer elements derived from the direct observation of nature"[15].

The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj decided to build a new temple for Goddess Chamunda (Kinchakesvari) on the site of Khandiya Deul. The work started in March 1925. As R.P. Chanda could not make himself available to supervise the work, so it was carried out by Paramananda Acharya. A small brick shrine, in which the image of Kinchakesvari was installed, was dismantled. This was a brick shrine. When this was dismantled a very large platform was discovered in which originally the life size image of Siva was enshrined. The Khandiya Deul was built not on the foundation of the old temple but behind it on the west. While reutilizing the carved stones of the old temple, the builders of Khandiya Deul displayed the recklessness and vandalism of the worst type[16]. Even the carved stone pieces were not fixed properly. Some of these were turned inward and the plane sides were exposed to view. Some other pieces were thrown in "pell mell' to serve as filling to the walls of the temple"[17]. All these observations obviously point out the seriousness of R.P.Chanda regarding the lack of archaeological awareness on the part of the king and his officers. That speaks about the value judgments of R.P.Chanda.

On stylistic grounds he assigned the temples of Khiching to the Somavamsi period. He made a comparative analysis of the sculptures of Khiching with the sculptures of Gupta period. He found considerable difference between the Gupta sculpture and the Khiching sculpture.

Analyzing the style and technique employed for fashioning the images of Khiching, he tried to provide an extra Oriya identity to the school of artists. He stated, "The early Bhanja Chiefs of Khiching as well as the artists, they employed for building and decorating their temples were not of local origin for no trace of any monument of an earlier stage of development of the art has been discovered at Khiching or its neighbourhood"[18]. He tried to find out answer to this pertinent problem. In order to provide a value judgment, he compared the sculptural representations of Khiching and Bhubaneswar. He took into consideration some of the figures of Lingaraja and Brahmesvara temple for stylistic analysis. He considered the image of Kartikeya of the Lingaraja temple as one of the masterpieces of Orissan sculpture. He found differences between the images of Khiching and Bhubaneswar on the basis of differences in the contour of the face. He observed that the images of Khiching have more regular features than that of images of Bhubaneswar. Considering from various angles of architectural and sculptural representation, R.P.Chanda concluded, "These consideration lead to the conclusion that while the artists employed by the Bhanja Chiefs for decorating the great temple of Khiching were imported from Orissa, for designing figures sculpture, he must have employed an artist of genius probably brought up in the Gaudian (Bengal-Bihar) school who as a consequence of his contact with the Oriya artists and aided by fresh inspiration from nature founded a new school of art at Khiching. The Chief who employed this master who have come from some other center of culture than Orissa for had he been an Oriya in origin he would probably have employed Oriya artists only and we should have at Khiching more replicas of the temples of Bhuvanesvar than masterpieces of a few type"[19]. Here Chanda tried to provide not only a Bengali identity to the ruling chief of Mayurbhanj but also to the artists of Khiching. These judgments lacked historicity and unfounded.

In 1927 the *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 30* was published. The volume provides a comprehensive study "on the beginning of art in Eastern India with special reference to sculpture in the Indian Museum, Calcutta". The work is divided into eight chapters. He tried to locate the origin of art in the Vedic period. Although there are no monumental document which may be assigned to the pre-

Mauryan period but he ascribed the religious linkages with the origin of art. He stated, " Monumental art came into being as a hand maid of religion"[20]. According to Chanda it was the cult of Stupa, which was an element of the primitive religion. This document was given an animal standard and this animal standard favoured the development of art. He drew the attention of the scholars to male and female figures riding horses and carrying Garuda standards. These figures are colleced from the ground railings of the Buddhist Stupa of Bharhut. The figures were then displayed in Indian Museum at Calcutta. Regarding these figures Chanda has stated, "... in his minor rock inscriptions Asoka claims that Gods unmingled with men before were made by him mingled with them. One of the most effective means adopted for this purpose must have been the erection of these magnificent pillars crowned by the symbols of the Gods. The cult of the pillars crowned by such figures was evidently an element of the primitive religion of eastern India. It was probably an offshoot of the Tree Cult, of the cult of the tree like the palm tree and pillars with palm tree capitals ... represent an earlier stage of the cult"[21].

During 1927-28, he explored a number of places in Orissa for collecting monumental remains in order to be displayed in the National Museum gallery. As archaeology was then in stage of infancy in India so no emphasis was required to be given by the archaeologists for systematic surveys. That is why many of the objects lost their original contexts. At the outset he stated, "As I visited the sites primarily for the acquisition of specimens, I could not spare time for disinterested exploration and collection of materials for exhaustive accounts of the sites"[22]. He visited various places of Jajpur, Nalatigiri (Lalitgiri), Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, and Kendrapara etc. From these places he collected large number of sculptural edifices associated with Buddhism. Also, a number of Buddha and Boddhisatva images and a number of Tantrik deities were collected. He assigned 7th to 9th century A.D. to all the sculptural remains. He made a comparative analysis of the sculptures of Jajpur with similar sculptures from other parts of India. He was of the opinion that, "But artistically some of the images found in these hills and in Jajpur rank as high as any produced in any other part of India after the Gupta period and in certain respects even higher. So the characteristics of these sculptures as works of heart deserve our attention".[23]

In the passage of time the Orissan sculpture degenerated towards 10th century A.D. According to Chanda, "From the tenth century onwards sculptures began to degenerate in Orissa and stiff conventional forms took the place of free and naturalistic poses of the early medieval images"[24].

Chodaganga conquered central Orissa in the 1st quarter of 12th century A.D. and prior to him were the ruling Keshari rulers. On the basis of Brahmesvara stone inscription, published by James Prinsep in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, page. 558, Chanda opined that Udyot Keshari traced his descent from Janmejaya, the ruler of Telenga (Telgu country), who conquered Orissa. As there were no sufficient sources to give any value judgment regarding the origin of the Kesharis, Chanda's stand on Janmejaya's origin cannot stand for scrutiny. Janmejaya conquered Orissa towards the close of 10th century A.D. In the mean time because of plenty of research activities, so many information have been gathered by the scholars and Somavamsis are traced to a central Indian Origin rather than a south Indian one. However, his interpretation on Janmejaya's conquests/Telgu conquests was an interesting one. The Telgu conquest marks a great turning point in the cultural history of Orissa. The Telgus are Dravidian people. But their conquests did not lead to the Dravidianisation of the Orissan culture but rather to the adoption of the Aryan-Orissan culture by the conquerors themselves. This is best illustrated by the introduction of the Indo-Aryan (Nagara style architecture) in parts of the Telgu country, in the Ganjam (Mukhalingam) and Vizagapatnam (Simanchalam District). But the contact of the Telgu culture with the Orissa considerably modified the latter and gave it a new turn. The Telgu ascendancy gave a strong impulse to Saivism"[25]. This interpretation of Chanda would have appeared sound had he provided the Telugu origin not to Janmejaya but to Chodaganga. As a result of the change of the government, the capital seat was transferred from Jajpur to Choudwar. That of course happened during the Somavamsi period in 10th century A.D. A number of Brahminical and Buddhist sculptures were recovered from Choudwar. He studied the images from Choudwar, Bhubaneswar, and Puri etc. He assigned 11th and 12th century A.D. to the figure sculptures found in the niches of Lingaraja temple at Bhubaneswar and Jagannath temple at

Puri. Chanda claimed that these figures show a more advanced stage of decadence. He cited the example of an image of Kartikeya displayed in the Indian Museum and belonging to one of the Siva temples of Bhubaneswar. Chanda opined that this image is a typical specimen of the last phase of later medieval Orissan art. " Images of this type lack the sincerity and freshness of the early medieval Bodhisattvas and Matris. In Orissa as in other parts of northern India in the later medieval period, sculptures gradually degenerated while architecture made steady progress. This degeneration should be attributed to the weakening of the religious spirit and corresponding development of architecture to a love pump and display that inspire the errection of more and more imposing and richly decorated structures. According to Indian philosophy genuinely religious spirit is rooted in the element or factor (*guna*) of human nature called *sattva* (goodness) and the love of pomp and grandeur in the factor called *rajas* (passion). The decline of ruling art is due to the decline of the *sattva* element in the people." This observation is definitely an interesting one. But the cultural history of the Gangas and Gajapatis provide a completely different picture and it was from the time of Chodagangadeva that Jagannath started playing dominant roles in the decision making power of the kings. There are ample references about the religious symbols and symbolisms being used by the kings for legitimizing their authority in different parts of Orissa during late Medieval period.

After completing a number of explorations in Mayurbhanj and other parts of Orissa, he engaged himself in an ambitious project of writing the history of Mayurbhanj during the period from 1761-1861, i.e. from the beginning of the relation of Mayurbhanj with the East India Company to the accession of the British Power to undisputed paramouncy. For the purpose D.B. Spooner, the officiating Direct or General of Archaeological Survey of India gave him the permission to consult the necessary records of the Midnapur Collectorate and in the office of the Board of Revenue to take such extracts for writing the history of Mayurbhanj (Vide Letter No. 263 Misc. dated the 15th February Educational Department Miscellaneous Branch, Calcutta to the Director General of Archaeology in India)"[26]. As Chanda could not undertake the work of consultation and selection of records, he entrusted

the work to Paramananda Acharya, the then State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj. Paramananda Acharya visited the Record Branch of the Government of Bengal and located all the letters and documents relating to Mayurbhanj. As Acharya discovered large number of materials, so Chanda advised him to collect copies of all records relating to the history of Mayurbhanj. The Record Officer of the Government of Bihar and Orissa also provided him lot of documents. Records are also collected from Balasore Collectorate, India Office, Witchell, British Museum Library, The Record Room of Baripada and printed collections from Poona Residency etc. After the collection of the documents these were arranged chronologically and published in two volumes. The vol. I of the Selections from Official Letters and Records relating to history of Mayurbhanj containing 321 documents was published. These were related to the period from 1761 to 1817. Achyuta Kumar Mitra prepared the synopsis of all the documents serially under the supervision of R.P. Chanda. This was done for the purpose of having a ready recokoner for constructing the history of Mayurbhanj. The volume- II contained 354 documents relating to the history of Mayurbhanj from 1821 to 1861. While the first volume was published in 1942, the second volume was published in 1943. Both the volumes provide us enormous information regarding the history of Mayurbhanj. Before he started writing the history of Mayurbhanj, it took him 18 years for studying the documents. By the time of his death in May 1942, volume I of the documents was already published and the volume II was published after his death in 1943. The Persian records collected by him were translated into English by his friend Prof. Taher Rezvi of Presidency College, Calcutta. But unfortunately R.P. Chanda could only complete the first chapter of the history of Mayurbhanj, part-I (1761 to 1861) published in 1949. The chapter II, III and IV of this book were collected and compiled by Paramananda Acharya. The chapter-I of the book is devoted for the study of Struggle for Independence in which he discussed about the topography, population, social history, the antiquity of the Royal family etc. The history of Mayurbhanj, part-I from 1761 to 1861 of which chapter-I to III were the contributions of R.P. Chanda is actually the first most important and comprehensive study on local history of the state of Orissa. Although basically a museologist turned archaeologist, Chanda

contributed significantly for situating the local history of Mayurbhanj against the broad contours of the Modern History of Orissa. This was probably the first work in the modern historiography of India, where in the beginning the source materials were located, collected and compiled together first and then attempt was made to analyze the materials in order to reconstruct the political history of the region. He had not left behind a single event of importance while reconstructing the historical situations prevailing in Mayurbhanj during the period from 1761 to 1861. As far as the archaeological cultures of Mayurbhanj are concerned, he developed certain bias towards the Bengalis. This may be due to his close association with Calcutta and pressure from the Mayurbhanj Royal House. Further, it is really surprising to note that by the time he was engaged in archaeological investigations and interpreting the objects for constructing the history of the cultural past of Mayurbhanj, he didn't take care to consult the existing literature available on different aspects of history of Orissa and more particularly the history of neighbouring localities. He was sharing many of his views with the historians of Bengal like R.L. Mitra, B.C. Majumdar, Bankim Chandra Chaterjee etc. who were engaged in a concerted campaign against the independent existence of Oriya language since 1870s.The works of Manmohan Chakraborty, Manmohan Ganguli, R.D.Banerjee, Bishen Swarup, Krupasindhu Mishra, Birupakshya Kar, Binayak Mishra were available at the time when Chanda was engaged in his historical research. But he didn't consult any one of their works. Probably his preoccupation with his official assignments didn't allow him either to theorize his conclusions or to generalize the cultural history of Mayurbhanj against the broad contours of the history and culture of Orissa. But the History of Mayurbhanj displayed his rationalism and scientific precision in writing History. His endeavours were truly Rankean. Oriental perceptions are clearly visible in his works. This particular work was the first of its kind in the whole of Orissa as far as 'total history' of any society in any locality is concerned.

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Pyarimohan Acharya: The Pioneer of Orissan Historiography

Nihar Ranjan Patnaik

It was right from the advent of the Europeans in India that the Indians started slowly coming under western influence. The European thought which had already been revolutionalised by Renaissance, influenced the Indian minds to a considerable extent. Indians had a chance to read different books dealing with modern ideas like equality, liberty, democracy, liberalism and more importantly nationalism. It widened their mental horizon.

Whatever the political motives, or national bias might be, the exposure to western learning and thought excited the Indian intellectuals into the field of Indian historiography. Of course these nationalist writers selected only those historical data to counter the western bias on Indian history and culture. True, in some of their writings the objectivity and impartiality were lacking. Also, there was no reflection of balanced historical judgment. Because they had a separate mission to glorify their own country and civilization and cleverly counteract the European who always found shortcomings in Indian people and culture. One of the outstanding pioneers of this category was Pyarimohan Acharya, the first person to write a complete history book on Orissa. i.e. "ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଇତିହାସ" /.[1]

Pyarimohan Acharya was a product of time. Time was critical-because of its socio-economic and political situation. Modern education, resistance movements and devastating famine of 1866 opened up a new vision in the thought process of the people of Orissa. And more significant was that search for Oriya identity was then getting its shape.[2]

Pyarimohan was one of the finest products of this intellectual awakening. Realising the necessity of a periodical to express his ideas as well people's feelings, he published *Utkal Putra* in 1871 which came out fortnightly. It not only ventilated the people's grievances and reactions against the misrule of the British government but also expressed the fearless feelings of socio-religious stigmas and exploitation of the British rule. Further, he too had established a school named 'Katak Academy' which is now famous as Pyarimohan Academy. Celebrated

revolutionary Bipin Chandra Pal was once the Headmaster of this school.

Pyarimohan was a nationalist in thought and temperament. He was the strong supporter of language movement, supporting the cause of Oriya language. He strongly advocated that Sambalpur and Ganjam were parts of Orissa and if these areas would be included, then the territory of Orissa will be doubled that of Bengal. This shows his spirit of Oriya nationalism.

Pyarimohan's *Odisara Itihasa* (History of Orissa) was a monumental work. As mentioned earlier, the time was then critical, Oriya language was suffering from an identity crisis and Oriya speaking people had to establish their own independent and separate existence. Oriya people had to fight for their own language and culture at the same time for the unification and amalgamation of all Oriya speaking tracts. During this crucial time the Oriyas felt the necessity of a comprehensive and complete history of their own.[3]

Pyarimohan filled up that vacuum. Coincidentally, in 1875 the Joint Inspector of Schools of Orissa gave an advertisement for writing a book on history of Orissa in Oriya language to be a text-book for school students. Pyarimohan took this opportunity and wrote the book which was finally approved and published in August 1879. It was printed in Cuttack Printing Press where it was available for price one rupee. The royalty for the book was fixed at 300 rupees. The book was dedicated to Baboo Rangalal Bondopadhyay, an administrator-researcher.

The contents of the book have been divided into eight chapters. The geography, natural resources, culture are incorporated in the first chapter. The second chapter deals with the primitive age of Orissa, the religion, Orissa as depicted in Puranas, traditions and legends. When third chapter deals with the Keshari or Somavamsi kings, the fourth chapter gives an account of Ganga dynasty. The fifth chapter highlights the decline of medieval Orissa and the end of Hindu rule in Orissa. The Muslim rule and Maratha rule have been dealt in sixth and seventh chapter respectively. The history of the British rule is given in the eighth chapter. At the end in the two appendices, Kharavela's Hatigumpha Inscription and Ashoka's Dhauli Inscription have been given.

In fact Pyarimohan's *Odisara Itihasa* (History of Orissa) is a complete work on Orissa. There was not a single aspect, which was left by the author. It was not a political account only narrated by Pyarimohan. It dealt with geography, climate, mineral resources, rivers and ports, maritime activities, agriculture and industry, religion, art and architecture. It was not the history of kings but it was the history of Oriya people, their culture and life style. The book accommodated all the aspects and traced the history up to the time of its publication. Very intelligently and critically he wrote the recent happenings of his time. But during that time Oriya speaking tracts of Sambalpur and Ganjam remained outside the jurisdiction of Orissa division (Sambalpur in Central Province and Ganjam under Madras Presidency) so Pyarimohan could not depict geography, history and culture of these two regions in his book. Of course he has expressed his regret for this in the preface of his book. Further, his description of different aspects of history in the book was little bit short. But that was, because the book was meant for the use of school students.[4] Furthermore, for Pyarimohan only one year was available to write this book and at that time he was, too young at the age of 25 and not so matured in history-writing. Still then, he has never left any essential or vital facts of Orissan history and culture in this work.

When sources are less or not available at all, then historians, at times depend upon the legends to construct history. Pyarimohan also gave some legendary accounts in his book. For example, on people's belief behind the naming of river Kathajodi he says that long long ago people used to cross this river by keeping to two logs of wood (Kathajodi) connecting two sides of the river but later on this river has been extended up to one mile in breadth. Similarly Pyarimohan writes about the river Baitarani that this has originated from two mouths of the mountain for which it is believed that it has extended up to Yamadwar, the door of *Yama*, the Lord of Death.[5]

Two very important things, we can find in Pyarimohan's book. Like a modern researcher, Pyarimohan Acharya has given a conclusion in his book at the end. He also gives detailed footnotes where necessary. And he gives two appendices, one appendix on Hatigumpha Inscription of Kharavela and other appendix on Dhauli Inscription of Ashoka.

Though Pyarimohan wanted to give some more appendices at the end for details, he restrained from doing so as he has pointed out in the preface of the book.[6]

Considering geography is the eyes of history, very rightly Pyarimohan narrates the geography and climate at the very outset. He writes that Orissa at that time was stretched from river Kansabansa in the north to the river Rushikulya in the south. Later it was extended up to river Hoogli in the north and river Godavari and Karnataka in the south and Bay of Bengal in the east and Kalahandi-Bastar in the west. He also narrates the administrative division of Orissa, mentioning that there were feudatory states under the Rajas and other portion of the state was under the British rule. Pyarimohan in his book gives the descriptions of mountains and hills, lakes, ports, minerals and agricultural products of the state.

While narrating the history of Orissa very often Pyarimohan gives his own ideas and assumptions. He mentions that religion had been a dominating factor in the history and culture of Orissa. He writes thus: "ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଧର୍ମ ସଙ୍ଗେ ଇତିହାସର ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧ= ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ପୂର୍ବତନ ଇତିହାସର ସାମୟିକ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ମାନ ଧର୍ମମୂଳକ ଅଟେ"।[7] Pyarimohan writes about the new religious faiths like Brahmo Dharma and Mahima Dharma. He also gives the reasons for the decline of Buddhism. He writes thus : "ଯେଉଁ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣମାନଙ୍କର କଠୋର ନିୟମ ଓ ଅନ୍ୟାୟ ଶାସନ ହିନ୍ଦୁଧର୍ମରେ ଭାରତବାସିଙ୍କର ବିରାଗ ଜନ୍ମାଇ ବୌଦ୍ଧଧର୍ମର ପୁଷ୍ଟିସାଧନ କରାଇଥିଲା, ସେହି ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣମାନଙ୍କର ଅଦ୍ଭୁତ ଉଦାର କୌଶଳ ସେଥିର କ୍ଷୟ ସାଧନ କଲା। ସ୍ୱୟଂ ବୌଦ୍ଧଧର୍ମ ପ୍ରବର୍ତ୍ତକ ବୁଦ୍ଧଦେବଙ୍କୁ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣମାନେ ଅବତାର ବିଶେଷ ବୋଲି ଗ୍ରହଣ ଓ ପ୍ରଚାର କଲେ। ବୌଦ୍ଧଧର୍ମର ଅହିଂସାବାଦକୁ ବୈଷ୍ଣବ ଧର୍ମର ବାଙ୍କରେ ପ୍ରୋଥିତ କଲେ। କେତେକ ବୌଦ୍ଧନେତା ଓ ପୁରୋହିତଙ୍କୁ ସ୍ଥାନ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଏକପ୍ରକାର ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ ଓ ସ୍ଥାନାନ୍ତରରେ ଦେବସେବକ ବୋଲି ସ୍ୱୀକାର କରି ଆପଣା ଆପଣା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସମାନତା ଦେଖାଇଲେ। କୌଶଳକରି ସ୍ଥାନସ୍ଥାନରେ ରାଜାମାନଙ୍କୁ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣମାନେ ଆପଣାର କରଗତ କଲେ। ..... ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣମାନେ ଶେଷରେ ଅନାୟାସରେ ବୌଦ୍ଧଧର୍ମର କ୍ଷୟ ସାଧନ କରିବା ସକାଶେ ସକ୍ଷମ ହୋଇଥିଲେ।"

Thus in some of the interpretations of Pyarimohan we find high degree of erudition. Making close observations on the Greek conquests of India, he wrote that since evidences of Greek influence on art, culture were not traceable in Orissa and no Greek monuments were found in Orissa, it can safely be concluded that Orissa had not come under Greek conquest.[8] Pyarimohan also opposed the view of Hunter that Kalinga

learnt industrial techniques particularly ship-building from the Greeks. He argued in his book that before the advent of the Greeks to India, Kalingans were using large ships which were testified by the existence of the ports like Tamralipta, Chilika and Kalingapatnam.[9]

The people of Orissa, during Pyarimohan's time were struggling for a separate identity of their own. This had deeply influenced the mind and writing of Pyarimohan. He writes that the internal factions and infightings were the main causes for Orissa's disunity and decline. He has analysed the decline of medieval Orissa, thus: "ଗଙ୍ଗବଂଶୀୟ ରାଜା ପ୍ରତାପରୂଦ୍ରଦେବ ମାନବଲୀଳା ସମ୍ବରଣ କରିବା ଉତ୍ତାରୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ନିରବିଚ୍ଛିନ୍ନ ଅନ୍ତର୍ବିବାଦ ଓ ନାନା ପ୍ରକାର ବିଦ୍ରୋହ ବିଗ୍ରହର କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ହୋଇ ଉଠିଲା। ଦେଶ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଲୋକଙ୍କର ଏକତା ଊଣା ହେବାକୁ ଲାଗିଲା। ସାମନ୍ତରାଜ ଓ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ସେ ସମୟର ଦେଶୀୟ କ୍ଷମତାଶାଳୀ ଲୋକମାନେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଲାଭାଲାଭ ପ୍ରତି ବିଶେଷ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ରଖିଲେ ନାହିଁ। ସ୍ୱାର୍ଥପରତାର ବଶୀଭୂତ ହୋଇ ସେ ଯାହା ଆପଣାର ଲାଭ ପ୍ରତି ମନୋନିବେଶ କଲେ, ସୁତରାଂ ଦୈଶିକ ବଳ ଊଣା ହୋଇ ପଡ଼ିଲା ଓ ମୁସଲମାନମାନେ ଯେଉଁ ଓଡ଼ିଆଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ସେମାନଙ୍କ ଏକତା ନିବନ୍ଧନ ସମୟରେ ବାରମ୍ବାର ପରାଭୂତ ହୋଇଥିଲେ, ସେହି ଓଡ଼ିଆମାନଙ୍କୁ ପୁଣି ସେମାନଙ୍କ ଅନ୍ତର୍ବିବାଦରେ ମତ୍ତ ଥିବା ସମୟରେ ପରାଭବ କରିବାକୁ ଅକ୍ଳେଶରେ ସମର୍ଥ ହେଲେ। ଅନ୍ତର୍ବିବାଦ ଓ ଗୃହବିଚ୍ଛେଦ ଉତ୍ତର ଭାରତବର୍ଷରୁ ସ୍ୱାଧୀନ ହିନ୍ଦୁ ରାଜତ୍ୱ ଲୋପ କରି ମୁସଲମାନମାନଙ୍କ ହସ୍ତରେ ଭାରତବର୍ଷ ଅର୍ପଣ କରିଥିଲା। ସେହି ଗୃହବିବାଦ ବିଗ୍ରହ ଭାରତର ଏକ କୋଣସ୍ଥିତ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସ୍ୱାଧୀନରାଜତ୍ୱ ସୁଦ୍ଧା ଲୋପ କରାଇ ବିଦେଶୀ ପଠାଣଙ୍କ ହସ୍ତରେ ଶାସନଭାର ପ୍ରଦାନ କଲା।"[10]

Here, of course Pyarimohan could not properly distinguish Ganga Vamsi and Surya Vamsi when he depicted Prataprudra Dev as a king of Ganga dynasty.

However, like other historians, Pyarimohan was critical of the Maratha rule in Orissa. But he appreciated some steps of the British Government for the progress of Orissa like social reforms and growth of education. Perhaps his praise for the British rule was due to the fact that the book was to be prescribed for the schools only after the approval of the British Government. But very cleverly he too criticised the British Government thus: "କେବଳ ଗୋଟି କେତେ ଅଭାବ ଏହିଯେ ଇଂରେଜ ଗବର୍ଣ୍ଣମେଣ୍ଟ ଆମ୍ଭମାନଙ୍କୁ ଅବିଶ୍ୱାସ କରୁଅଛନ୍ତି। ନାନା ପ୍ରକାର କରଭାର ଦ୍ୱାରା ପ୍ରଜାମାନଙ୍କୁ ଜର୍ଜରିତ କରି ଅଛନ୍ତି ଏବଂ ଆମ୍ଭମାନଙ୍କୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ଶାସନ ପ୍ରଣାଳୀରେ ଭାଗୀ କରୁ ନାହାନ୍ତି। ମୁସଲମାନ ଓ ମରହଟ୍ଟାମାନେ ଅନ୍ୟ ପ୍ରକାର ଅତ୍ୟାଚାର କରୁଥିଲେ ସୁଦ୍ଧା ଦେଶୀୟ ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କୁ ଶାସନରେ ଭାଗ ଦେଉଥିଲେ।".[11]

In his book, it is seen that Pyarimohan at times gives his own ideas and belief. When he writes about Ravenshaw College originating

from Cuttack School, he expresses his displeasure in working of the college. He writes thus: "ମାତ୍ର ଯେଉଁ ପ୍ରକାର କଲେଜ ଏଠାରେ ହୋଇଅଛି, ସେପରି କଲେଜ ହେବା ବାଞ୍ଛନୀୟ ନୁହଇ। ଏପରି ହେବା ଅପେକ୍ଷା ବରଞ୍ଚ ନୋହିଥିବାର ଶୁଭକର ଥିଲା''।[12]

When Pyarimohan writes about the rock-cut image of a lion in Udaigiri, he concludes that the artists must have seen the lion and perhaps there were lions in the forest of Orissa.

In constructing history of Orissa, Pyarimohan has been very cautious and careful. He was not a person to believe blindly what others said. For example, *Madala Panji*, the Chronicle of Jagannath Temple of Puri has been accepted as historical source to a great extent by the scholars. But he considers that the facts recorded in *Madala Panji* sometimes have been highly fictitious. The kings, recorded in Madala Panji have been depicted by Pyarimohan as "ଔପନ୍ୟାସିକ ରାଜାଗଣ" (ଲଷମାଷପଷପକ୍ଷ୍କଷ ଲପଭଶଷ). ଓଭ ଷଷପଷ ମକ୍ଷ୍ଭଷରଘଷ ଷର ଘଙ୍କପଷରଷ ଷଷଙ୍କଷ: "କିନ୍ତୁ ମାଦଳାପାଞ୍ଜି ଲେଖକମାନେ କଳିଯୁଗ ଆରମ୍ଭରୁ ରାଜାମାନଙ୍କ ନାମ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ କରିବା ବିଷୟରୁ, ସଙ୍କୁଚିତ ହୋଇ ନାହାନ୍ତି।...... ଉଲ୍ଲିଖିତ ରାଜାଙ୍କ ନିର୍ଘଣ୍ଟରୁ ବୋଧହୁଅଇ ଯେ, କେତେକ ନାମ ମହାଭାରତରୁ ଓ କେତେକ ବଡ଼ ବଡ଼ ଲୋକଙ୍କ ନାମକୁ ଅବଲମ୍ବନ କରି ସଂଗୃହୀତ ହୋଇଅଛି। ଏହି ରାଜାଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ କେହି କେହି ୫୦୦/୭୦୦ ବର୍ଷ କରି ରାଜତ୍ୱ କରିଥିବାର ସୁଦ୍ଧା ପଞ୍ଜିକାରେ ଲିଖିତ ଅଛି।.... ପଞ୍ଜିକା ଲିଖିତ ରାଜାଏ କଳିକାଳର ନରପତି, ଏମାନଙ୍କର ଶତବର୍ଷ ପରମାୟୁରେ ସୁଦ୍ଧା ଅଧିକାର ନାହିଁ। ଏଣୁକରି ଏମାନଙ୍କର ଏତେ ଅଧିକକାଳ ରାଜତ୍ୱ କରିଥିବାର ଯାହା ଲିଖିତ ଅଛି, ତାହା ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣରୂପେ କାଳ୍ପନିକ ମାତ୍ର। ସୁତରାଂ ଆମ୍ଭେମାନେ ପଞ୍ଜିକା ଲେଖକଙ୍କର ଏହି ଅତିପୂର୍ବକାଳର ରାଜନିର୍ଘଣ୍ଟରେ ବିଶ୍ୱାସ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରି ନପାରି ତାହାକୁ ଏହି ପୃଷ୍ଠାମାନଙ୍କରୁ ବିସର୍ଜନ ଦେଲୁଁ।"

Of course there were certain shortcomings in Pyarimohan's *"Odisara Itihasa"*. But the flaws in historical interpretation committed by Pyarimohan were natural. It was mostly for the inadequacy of source materials. Like today, there was neither a museum nor an archives where one could get source materials like copperplate inscriptions or records. In order to study the inscriptions, there were no professional epigraphists. Records or documents relating to the study of history were not available to the writers. The history books, where one could find historical sources about Orissa, were very few in number. The colonial historians like Hunter, Stirling, Sutton or Toynbee very often presented their facts relating to history and culture of Orissa in an unsystematic, unjustified, irrational and unscientific manner giving priority to the British interest. Therefore Pyarimohan was handicapped, but he showed

high degree of perseverance. He had to depend on the works of William Hunter, Andrew Stirling, Rajendralal Mitra and George Toynbee. Besides, he had gone through the Indian accounts of Elphinstone, Bloughman and Marshman, the Muslim accounts on India, Asiatic Society Journals and literary texts in Oriya, Bengali and Sanskrit. Further, he had also consulted many new and old documents from Commissioner's Office, as there were no archives. In collecting materials from copper plates, Pyarimohan was helped by Rangalal Bandopadhyaya. For these he acknowledged in the preface of the book.

With inadequate sources Pyarimohan could present a complete history of the State - that is really amazing. Like a history book of the present time, he has maintained the historical sequence in his work so well that it created a sensation then in the academic circle.

On 19th February 1880, *Sambad Bahika* of Balasore published a review of his book thus : "Undoubtedly we can say that no other single book in Oriya language has yet been written in which geography, political and socio-religious history of ancient and modern Orissa have been so beautifully written. Even rarely we find such a type of book in Bengali language."[13]

Pyarimohan was not a professional historian and had no training whatsoever in historical research. He was more or less a participant in the movement for the formation of Orissa as a separate province. So he was guided by regional patriotism. He could justify his stand, as the Oriyas were then desperately trying to unite themselves through a language movement. In spite of his limitation and commitment Pyarimohan could succeed in writing somewhat complete account of Orissan history. He pioneered the historical research in Orissa and his work has been an inspiration to scholars of the present day.

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Contributions of Babu Rajendralala Mitra to the Historiography of Orissa

Benudhar Patra

The reconstruction of Orissan history with the application of scientific approach and modern methodologies for a long period remains desideratum. The modern historical writings on Orissa, however, began with the coming of the British in Orissa by the efforts of British administrator cum historians such as A. Sterling, A. Toynbee, John Beams, W.W. Hunter, etc, who brought to light some important antiquities and historical aspects of Orissa by their painstaking explorations and investigations. Side by side, along with the British historians, the Indian native scholars also contributed remarkably in the writing of Orissan history and culture. Among the early Indian historians who made pioneering contributions to the progress of modern historical writings on Orissa in particular and that of indology in general, the name of Babu Rajendralala Mitra (1822-1891) appears to be prominent. Rajendralala Mitra belongs to the first generation of historians who made sincere efforts to investigate some vital aspects of Orissa i.e. art, culture, archaeology and society in historical perspectives. Orissa, till late, however, was devoid of historiographical investigations and some pioneering scholars and historians who made significant contributions to the modern historiography of Orissa have not yet been properly evaluated in the correct perspective. In the present paper, an endeavour has been made to throw light on the contributions of Rajendralala Mitra to the historiography with a special reference to Orissa.

Born on 16 February, 1822 at Soora in a cultured Bengali family, Rajendralala Mitra gained proficiency in Bengali, Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi, Urdu and English with a working knowledge in French, German and Greek. He was one of the six sons of his father Janmejaya Mitra and passed his childhood days in adverse economic situations. He started learning in English education while he was staying with his widowed and childless aunt (father's sister) at Calcutta (Kolkata) but unfortunately, due to the death of his aunt he was forced to return home disappointed. Then he got himself enrolled as a stipendiary student in the medical school where he distinguished himself by supplying to the principal useful information on the indigenous system of medicine. Here

also fortune did not favour him. He then turned his attention to law but misfortune awaited him even here. Though he studied diligently and appeared the examination successfully to his utter despair, 'the whole examination was cancelled as the questions had all oozed out'[1]. Finally, it was the Asiatic Society of Bengal that discerned the genius in Rajendralala Mitra and in 1846, at once appointed him as its Librarian and Assistant Secretary. The period from 1846 to 1856, when he served the Asiatic Society proved to be quite significant in his life which provided him a congenial atmosphere to prove his academic mettle. This was a period of his intense study, keeping track of the various branches of research conducted by the members of the Society. It was here he got the scope to bring about collaboration among the western and Indian scholars in the task of unveiling India's past [2]. By laborious study he soon acquired a taste for antiquarian research and began to contribute and fill the pages of the Asiatic Society's Journal. It was his scholarly pursuits and sustained research with unflagging zeal which earned him a very good name that ultimately elevated him to the prestigious office of the President of the Asiatic Society in 1885. He was conferred with the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (D.L) [3] by the Calcutta University in 1876 and honouric titles such as, Rai Bahadur in 1877, CIE in 1878 and Raja in 1888 [4]. For many years he also served as an active member of the Calcutta University and the Municipal Corporation. He was highly venerated by the land owning class of Bengal for whose amelioration he strived hard using his influence and pen freely, and took an active role in the Indian National Congress. Thus, it is evident that Rajendralala Mitra was a multifaceted personality. After an eventful carrier Babu Rajendralala Mitra died at the age of 69 years on 26 July, 1891 after a short period of acute suffering from paralysis.

Rajendralala Mitra was one of the pioneer Indologists of the nineteenth century India. He was one of those few scholars who were profoundly inspired by the ideas and attitudes of the western scholars who were liberal and sympathetic to ancient Indian culture, heritage and civilization and contributed in a large way to the development of Indological research in the nineteenth century. Rajendralala Mitra was a true follower of Sir William Jones. Though a linguist, R.L.Mitra developed a rare historical insight applying the scientific method of interpreting history with objective outlook and reasoning spirit. According to him, a rational analysis of available literary or archaeological evidences or sources is a must for projecting proper

historical perspective. The guidelines of research include exploration and exposition of source materials in a faithful and accurate manner, their critical and comparative study in proper historical setting, rational or logical analysis and interpretation of the relevant data in an unbiased and objective manner, and finally the presentation of the historical facts, so analysed and interpreted in a lucid form with clarity and in a balanced way. R.L. Mitra adopted all these principles of scientific enquiry in his scholastic studies and historical research. He maintained that the historical evidence should be studied in the seat of a judge and not that of a counsel. According to him a true historian should be above all kinds of prejudices like chauvinism and parochialism and should not write anything in a preconceived pattern. He tried to reconstruct from the 'bottom up'. In the words of Max Muller:

"He (Rajendralala Mitra) is a pundit by profession, but he is at the same time a scholar and a critic in our sense of the word. He has edited Sanskrit Texts after a careful collation of MSS and in his various contributions to the Journal of A.S. of Bengal, he has proved himself completely above the prejudices of his class, freed from the erroneous views on the history and literature of India in which every Brahman is brought up, and thoroughly imbued with those principles of criticism which men, like Colebrooke, Lassen, and Bernont, have followed in their researches into the literary treasures of his country. His English is remarkably clear and simple and his arguments would do credit to any Sanskrit scholar in England....Our Sanskrit scholars in Europe will have to pull hard if, with such men as Raja Rajendra Lala in the field, they are not to be distanced in the race of scholarship"[5].

Rajendralala Mitra was an eminent scholar who made valuable contributions in nurturing dynamic research in Indology. He, however, instead of writing a complete history of ancient India was more interested in regional historical studies which had all India significance. By studying history, culture and antiquities of the regions like Orissa, Bihar, Nepal and Bengal he unearthed information on art, architecture, sculpture, literature, and socio-religious life. His works had a broad canvas, relating to people at large[6]. He acquainted himself with the western scientific methodology of historical study. He intensely explored both literary and archaeological sources and tried his best to integrate the literary evidences with archaeological data. His approach in dealing with the historical research can be categorized into two folds,

i.e. (i) publication of the old texts as well as preparation of notices of different collections and, (ii) the study of the archaeological objects such as coins, inscriptions and monumental remains[7]. The principal guidelines on which Rajendralala Mitra conducted his research are as follows: (i) exploration and exposition of source materials in a faithful and accurate manner, (ii) critical and comparative study of the materials in their proper historical setting, (iii) rational and logical analysis and interpretation of the relevant data reflecting the cultural and material state of the people in a given period and (iv) presentation of the historical facts in a lucid form by maintaining a balanced judgment and objective outlook[8].

Literary Contributions

Rajendralala Mitra, a versatile genius and a man of inexhaustible energy with critical acumen contributed immensely in the field of historical research as well as literary activities. In 1850, he started editing the '*Bibidhartha Sangraha*', an illustrated monthly Bengali magazine devoted to science and literature which was held in high esteem by the great poet Rabindra Nath Tagore. Every issue of the Magazine besides covering important features also carried excellent illustrations. In 1863, he took the responsibility of editing another illustrated monthly journal '*Rahasya Sandarbha*'. His literary activities are coeval with his connection with the Asiatic Society of Bengal[9]. For more than forty years continuously he contributed scholarly papers and monographs to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* on a variety of topics. He also contributed papers in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*. He contributed about 114 research papers to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* of Bengal, every one of which has been greatly admired by European as well as Indian scholars. In 1848, one of his brilliant paper on an inscription from the Vijaya Mandir, Udaipur, was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society. Another important contribution of R.L.Mitra was an interesting article entitled "On Some Graeco-Bactrian Relics from Rawalpindi" (1868). "*Buddha Gaya- The Hermitage of Sakya Muni*" (published under the orders of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta, 1878) is another important work of Rajendralala Mitra. In 1875, he wrote on "The Greek Art and Leprosy in India" which attracted wide attention. His next important article was on " The Representation of Foreigners in the Ajanta Frescoes" in which highlighting the beauty of the Ajanta designs he remarked that the various scenes depicted in the Ajanta paintings represented phases of

Indian life from 1800 to 2000 years ago[10]. Rajendralala Mitra's next work was *The Indo-Aryans* (Calcutta, 1881) in two volumes which serve as very good source materials for the elucidation of the ancient and medieval history of the Indo-Aryans. The vastness of knowledge dealing with Indian architecture, archaeology, literature, philosophy, manners and customs of the Indian society, different aspects of history which he exhibits in *The Indo-Aryans* proved R.L.Mitra to be a versatile genius. The *Indo-Aryans* is a collection of essays which he had written on different occasions on a variety of topics. In his article on the Indian Architecture which was published in 1870, Rajendralala Mitra had strongly controverted the opinion held by some scholars that the Hindus had first learnt the art of building in stone from their Greek conquerors[11]. He was of the opinion that Indian Architecture was self-evolved and self-sustained and attributed Indian architectural style and tradition to the evolution of indigenous tradition only. Further, he even used sculptural representations as relevant data for knowing the socio-religious condition of the contemporary period.

In addition to publishing articles and books that helped to reconstruct the ancient history and culture of India, Rajendralala Mitra distinguished himself in collecting Sanskrit manuscripts for the Government. For this purpose he travelled extensively and took pivotal role in editing important texts in the '*Bibliotheca Indica*' series undertaken by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The object of the *Bibliotheca Indica* series was to disseminate knowledge of the most standard works on religion and history, in Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Urdu. A versatile genius and well-versed in many languages, no one was better fitted for the task than Babu Rajendralala Mitra. He also published descriptive catalogues of Manuscripts and other antiquities in the Archives of the Asiatic Society. Not only this, he also edited several important Buddhist texts. He edited and translated into English important portions of a Sanskrit-Buddhist text, *Lalitavistara* which had been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series in 1883. He also edited the famous Buddhist text of *Ashtaasahsrika Prajnaparamita*, a standard work of the Nepalese Buddhists in 1880 and compiled a descriptive catalogue of the entire collection of Hodgson's manuscripts, presented to the Asiatic Society, entitled *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature in Nepal* in 1882 which 'is of outstanding importance for a proper appreciation of ancient Indian cultural history as also that of Buddhism'. His other edited Sanskrit texts are *Kamandakiya Nitisara*, *Yoga Sutra* of Patanjali (1880), *Brahmanas, Aranyakas*, *Agni Purana*, *Vayu Purana* etc.

Contributions to the Orissan Historiography

Rajendralala Mitra made valuable contribution to the historiography of Orissa. In 1868, the Royal Society of Arts, London, suggested to the Government of India that casts of some of the more important sculptures of ancient India should be obtained and for this purpose made some grant to the Government of Bengal. Sir William Grey, the then Lieutenant - Governor of Bengal, at once started making the necessary enquiries regarding the existence of ancient sculptures. At that moment Rajendralala Mitra[12] suggested that 'the party of modellers and moulders which the Government was then about to send to Orissa', should proceed to Bhubaneswar where it would find the oldest and most interesting specimens of Hindu architectural ornament. He also recommended that it would be well to depute along with it a person familiar with Indian antiquarian remains, so that some historical and descriptive accounts might be procured of several monuments from which casts would be taken. His suggestions were immediately approved by the Bengal Government and he was directed to 'accompany, as archaeologist, the party of moulders, draftsmen and photographers' to Bhubaneswar which he accepted cheerfully. Accordingly, in 1868-69 winter, Rajendralala Mitra was deputed to visit Orissa, to secure "an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings, or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions- of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them"[13]. In addition Dr. Mitra wished "to notice permanently such points in them as were calculated to throw any special light on the social history of the ages to which they referred"[14]. During his stay in Orissa, 1868-69, he collected information about Orissa from all possible sources- literary, traditions and chronicles, including the temple records. He described the Orissan temples along with their sculptural and architectural details as the products of an indigenous school (Kalinga style of architecture). The results of his survey and research are embodied in two large volumes, "*Antiquities of Orissa*". He designed the plan and methodology of his great work, the *Antiquities of Orissa* following the pattern of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's learned work *Ancient Egyptians*. In compilation of this work, he had taken the help of highly experienced technical persons drawn from the Government of Bengal to prepare the drawings, sketches and measurements.

The *Antiquities of Orissa* which is considered R.L.Mitra's *magnum opus* and places him among the high ranking scholars of India was published in two large volumes (Vol. I and Vol. II, published respectively in 1875 and 1880, Calcutta), "under the orders of the Government of India". It is splendidly illustrated. In the Preface of the *Antiquities of Orissa,* Vol I, about the plan of the work, R.L.Mitra[15] writes, "With a view to avoid repetitions and references to fragmentary remarks interspersed under different heads, the work has been divided into two parts; the first comprising general observations on the nature and character of the objects noticed; and the second, detailed description of those objects; the former embracing only those characters which are common to particular classes, and the latter the peculiarities of individual relics".

In the first Chapter, Volume I of the *Antiquities of Orissa* he has discussed about the history of Indian Temple architecture. In the second Chapter, he has given a brief summary of the general principles of Orissan temple architecture while the third deals with sculptural and architectural ornamentation. In the fourth, he has attempted a sketch of the social condition of the temple-builders of Orissa from their sculptural decorations. The fifth Chapter comprises an outline of the history of various systems of religion which have influenced the growth of Orissan art.

In Volume II, the first chapter has been devoted to the antiquities and monuments of Khandagiri; the second to the temples of Bhubaneswar; the third to those of Puri and the fourth to those of Konarak, Yajapur [Jajpur], Cuttack and other places of minor importance. In both of the volumes he furnished several drawings and illustrations to support and corroborate his theories. He has taken utmost care to discuss the nature and character of the monuments with detailed descriptions which covered the particulars and individual peculiarities of each relic. He emphasized primarily on the spot survey and examination of Orissan monuments and for historical description sometimes drew upon the materials embedded in literary sources like the *Ekamra Purana, Swarnadri Mahodaya, Kapila Samhita, Madalapanji* (the annals of the Temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri) and also local traditions. However, Rajendralala Mitra like a true historian accepted the literary evidences and traditional data only after a careful scrutiny. The *Antiquities of Orissa,* in fact, speaks eloquently of Rajendralala Mitra's

intensive study of the archaeological remains of India, particularly the temple architecture and sculptures of Orissa for which he conducted explorations and surveys. Excellent line drawings and lithographic illustrations of different elements of the temple complexes heighten the importance of the work as a source book for the study of history, culture, art, architecture and sculptures of Orissa.

Referring to the availability of historical records and antiquities in Orissa, Rajendralala Mitra[16] says, "Cut off from the rest of India by ranges of hills and inhospitable wilds on the one side, and hemmed in by the sea on the other, it enjoyed perfect immunity for a long time from the inroads of the Mohammedans, and even in its worst days did not suffer so much as the rest of India. Commerce it had next to none, and its people lived happily and contented for ages under a national government, with every opportunity to cultivate the arts of peace, and to promote the prosperity of their fatherland. The ancient monuments it contains are therefore, more authentic than what are to be met with in most other parts of India, and as such, have peculiar interest and significance for the antiquarian".

The *Antiquities of Orissa* not only established Rajendralala Mitra as an archaeologist but also provided sufficient ground to rank him high among the great art historians of India. His steadfastness to facts and lively minute description of the temples at Puri, Konarak and Bhubaneswar even enable us to get an idea as to what they looked like when Rajendralala Mitra visited them. Viewed from all these, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the enormous output of Rajendralala Mitra was marked by flashes of rare insight, apart from the hallmarks of a historian such as adherence to facts, analytical acumen and academic detachment and judged by any standards of scholarship, he is undoubtedly an avant–grade historian of India. Even after a century after his death he is striding like a colossus[17].

The *Antiquities of Orissa* though established Rajendralala Mitra as a historian of great repute subjected him to various criticisms. Despite all his extraordinary scholarship and talent that resulted in his monumental work '*Antiquities of Orissa*', Rajendralala Mitra was suffers from the attitude of anti-Oriya bias which obviously reflected in the above work (*Antiquities of Orissa*). In the 1870s he played an important role in the concerted elitist Bengali campaign against the independent existence of the Oriya language. In December, 1868

delivering a speech at 'Cuttack Debating Society', Rajendralala Mitra said that any well-wisher of Utkal (Orissa) must try for the introduction of Bengali in place of Oriya. He further stressed upon that until and unless Oriya language is abolished this country (Orissa) could not prosper. Not only this, he also helped Kanti Chandra Bhattacharya in producing the book '*Odia Ekta Swatantra Bhasha Noy*' (Oriya is not an independent language) which evoked a serious language agitation in Orissa. Though he came to Orissa as an archaeologist with a mission to study her architecture and sculpture, Rajendralala Mitra, subsequently made a significant departure from the main theme, spoke in general on the history, culture, society and language of Orissa with an anti-Oriya biased view. He has given a very detestable picture of the Car festival of Lord Jagannath at Puri. He said," No Indian divinity has a more unenviable notoriety in English literature than Jagannatha. Alike in poetry and in prose, in works of imagination as in sober history, he forms a never-dying illustration of all that is cruel, all that is horrible, all that is most revolting to every sense of humanity....Has the orator to excite in his audience a feeling of revolting abhorrence against any hated object? - he cannot do it better than by denouncing it as a car of Jagannath..."[18]. Referring to *asianahs* (nine storeyed palace) mentioned in the *Ain-I-Akbari* of Abul Fazal which was constructed at Barabati fort by Raja Mukunda Deva of the Bhoi dynasty, Rajendralala Mitra said that it is highly exaggerated. He said "To me the description appeared on the face of it to be incorrect. I could not well believe that any sensible person-one who would build a nine-storeyed palace- would locate his artillery and guards in the second storey of residence, or his kitchen just under his public reception rooms, and his artificers below his kitchen. The retinue of the Raja including all his grooms, camel-drivers, elephant keepers, guards, attendants, porters, watchmen, artificers and domestics, must have numbered by thousands and it was difficult to believe that they were all accommodated in the several storeys of one building"[19]. Referring to the original text of the *Ain-I-Akbari* he says that *ashianah* in Arabic means a nest, an abode, a suit of rooms, a layer, and "the sense in which it has been used in the passage is that of dwellings ranged side by side, and not in storeys, i.e. the nest or layers were lateral and not perpendicular"[20]. From this it also appears that Rajendralala Mitra had deliberately interpret it in such way. J.Fergusson[21] who interpreted *ashianah* as of 'nine courts or enclosures' instead of ' nine storeys' was of the opinion that "As Orissa at the period when this [*Ain-I-Akbari*] was

written was practically a part of Akbar's kingdom, there seems little doubt that Abul Fazl's description was furnished by some one who knew the palace".

However, his *Antiquities of Orissa* in spite of adverse criticisms from various angles even today serve as an important source book for research, and throw a flood of light on different aspects of the history and culture of Orissa. Highlighting the importance of the work M.S.Ramaswami Iyengar[22] says, "Putting together all the information regarding Orissa from available ancient authors he had presented in a readable form and charming style, the architectural, religious and social history of Orissa, treating under separate heads the history of particular localities."

Some Other Works of Rajendralala Mitra on Orissa:

Besides the *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Rajendralala Mitra also has some other works on Orissa which are as follows:

"Note on a Copper Plate Inscription from Sambalpur"' *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereafter *JASB*), 35 (1866): pp.195-97.

"Notes on a Donative Inscription of Vidyadhara Bhanja belonging to C.T. Metcalfe, Commissioner of the Orissa Division", *JASB*, 56, no.3 (1887): pp.154-60.

Rajendralala Mitra in spite of his contributions has been criticised by various scholars. J. Fergusson in his *Archaeology in India* criticised Rajendralala Mitra on various aspects. He vehemently questioned the archaeological knowledge of Dr. Mitra. He said, "it is difficult to understand how a scholar like Babu Rajendralala, who had fairly gained distinction by a life-devotion to Sanskrit literature, should, when long past middle age, have thought that by merely willing it, without any previous preparation, he could acquire an equal position as an archaeologist"[23]. It is said that Rajendralala Mitra's knowledge of archaeology was only rudimentary. Further, J.Fergusson[24] remarked that, "there is no attempt in the *Antiquities of Orissa* to arrange the temples in any sort of sequence according to their dates, or even to group them in classes according to their forms or details. To do this would have required study and at least some elementary knowledge of the science of archaeology, for which the *Babu* [Rajendralala Mitra] has such supreme contempt".

To conclude, we can say that Babu Rajendralala Mitra was one of the pioneer scholars of Indology. He contributed immensely to the historiography of India in general and that of Orissa in particular. He became a model himself for later indologists like Haraprasad Shastri, R.G. Basak and Nalinaksha Dutta etc. Haraprasad Shastri, a great scholar of Sanskrit received his training in the preparation of the descriptive catalogues from Babu Rajendralala Mitra. It is gleaned from his research and works that Rajendralala Mitra earnestly aimed at unfolding the glorious cultural heritage of India. He was an antiquarian of great repute. The two volumes of the *Antiquities of Orissa* have made him immortal as a historical researcher. Rajendralala Mitra was one of the first Indian historians who underlined the importance of the documentation of monumental remains.

Notes and References

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2. L.K.Mishra and S.K.Mishra, *Historians and Historiography of Orissa* (A Study in Perceptions and Appropriation of Orissan History), Kaveri Books, New Delhi, 2005, pp.282-283.
3. On the occasion of conferring the Degree of Law (D.L), the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Hobhouse, the then Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University spoke: "There is no European Society of oriental scholarship to whom he is not honourably known and there are many who have been glad to admit him as member and colleague. He has thrown light on many a dark corner of the history, antiquities and languages of the country".
4. S.K.Mitra, 'Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra', in: S.P.Sen (Ed.), *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, Calcutta, 1973, pp.1-14.
5. Quoted by M.S. Ramaswami Iyengar, *op. cit.*, p.109.
6. P.K.Mishra, *Historians and Historiography in Orissa*, Indian Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 2001, p.17.
7. L.K.Mishra and S.K.Mishra, *op. cit.*, p.283.
8. *ibid*, p.297.
9. M.S. Ramaswami Iyengar, *op. cit.*, pp.100-101.
10. *ibid*, p.105.

11. James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I & II (Bound in One), Delhi (Low Price Publications), 2006 (Reprint), Vol. I, pp.219-221; James Fergusson, *Archaeology in India*, Rajesh Publications, New Delhi, 1982 (Indian Reprint), pp.7-9.
12. Rajendralala Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I, Calcutta (Indian Studies Past and Present), 1961 (Reprint), p. Preface, i.
13. *ibid*; *Accounts of the Temple of Jagannath 'Lord of the World' at Puri, The Most Sacred Hindu Temple in India*' Published by Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1996 (Reprint) (it was first published in 1895 from Madras (Chennai), p. Prefatory note.
14. *ibid.*
15. *ibid,* (*Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I), Preface, i.
16. *ibid*, Introduction, v.
17. L.K.Mishra and S.K.Mishra, *op. cit*, p.297.
18. Rajendralala Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, Calcutta (Indian Studies Past and Present), 1963 (Reprint), p.167.
19. *ibid*, p.268.
20. *ibid.*
21. James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p112.
22. M.S. Ramaswami Iyengar, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
23. James Fergusson, *Archaeology in India, op. cit.*, p. 6.
24. *ibid*, pp.64-65.

Rakhal Das Banerji, A Pioneering Historian – His Contributions to the Orissan Historiography

Prafulla Kumar Mohanty

Rakhal Das Banerji is well known to the history of India for his outstanding discovery of Mohenjodaro, a notable site of the Harappan civilization. But he has contributed a large number of valuable historical writings. His keen interest in the field of research is noteworthy. He had shown his proficiency as an archaeologist. He had written various books on the history of India and Bengal. He was very much interested in the study of the history and archaeology of Orissa. He had deciphered a number of early Orissan inscriptions and written a complete history of Orissa. As a scholar and researcher, he occupies a unique place among the learned historians.

He was born at Baharampur in West Bengal in 1886. He completed his school education from Krishnanath Collegiate School, Baharampur, received his graduation degree from the Presidency College, Calcutta in 1905 and M.A. degree from the Calcutta University in 1909. He was taught by a galaxy of brilliant teachers like H.P. Sastri, D.R. Bhandarkar, R.S. Trivedi and Theodore Bloch. They had exercised tremendous impact upon the career of R.D. Banerji. From H.P. Sastri, he had gathered knowledge on Sanskrit. He had learnt various features of archaeology from D.R. Bhandarkar, R.S. Trivedi and Theodore Bloch which was helpful for his future research. He started his career in the Indian Museum as an Archaeological Assistant in 1910 and then be became the Assistant Superintendent of Archaeological Survey of India. He also worked as Honorary Professor of History in the Calcutta University. In 1917, he was appointed as the Superintendent of the Western Circle, Archaeological Survey of India. In 1924, he became the Superintendent of its Eastern Circle. Then he joined Benaras Hindu University as the Professor of Ancient Indian Hsitory and Culture. He had served there till his death in 1930.[1]

His major books and research articles are related with epigraphy, palaeography, numismatics, iconography and history of India. Other than the excavation of Mohenjodaro, he was also associated with the

excavation of Paharpur in Bengal. As an epigraphist, first he had shown his ability by editing the Madhainagar grant of Lakshamana Sena[2]. He could study the old writings in the inscriptions and was an expert in palaeography, his notable contribution is *The Origin of the Bengali Script*[3]. For this work, he was awarded the University of Calcutta Jubilee research prize. Originally, this book was written in Bengali which was later translated into English. In this book, he has analysed the origin of different forms of alphabet like the Maurya alphabet, writings in the Kushana inscriptions, Gupta alphabet and the final evolution of the alphabet. He has discussed Buhler's distinction of Northern and Southern varieties of the older Mauryan alphabet and sub-varieties of the Northern Mauryan alphabet like the North-Eastern, the North-Central and the North-Western[4]. This monograph shows his deep study in the field of palaeography. Later on he had critically examined number of Orissan inscriptions.

In the field of numismatics, he has analysed the Indo-Scythian coins and here he has referred to the views of V.A. Smith and Cunnigham[5]. He had also written a book *Prachin Mudra* in Bengali published in 1915. In the area of art and iconography, he had contributed a number of books namely *Temple of Bhumara* (1919), *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments* (1922), *Bas Relief of Badami* (1928) and *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture* (1933)[6].

He was also interested in writing the history of different dynasties. In his earlier work, *The Palas of Bengal*, he has dealt with the history of Bengal and Bihar after Harshavarddhana, the achievements of the Pala rulers, their conflict with the Pratiharas and the decline of the Pala dynasty. The book contains six chapters and he has extensively used inscriptions as the source material. At some places the verses of some of the inscriptions have been quoted. This work can be described as a micro study on the history of the Palas[7]. His another publication, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas* refers to the various aspects of the Gupta history. The book is divided into six chapters namely chronology, the system of administration and peerage, religious and literary revival, architecture, plastic art and coinage. Along with the political history, importance is given on the study of temple architecture. He refers to the temples of the early Gupta, Later Gupta and post Gupta period. He has

also discussed different schools of Art. He has analysed different types of coins in detail[8]. His two volumes of *Bangalar Itihas*, (1915, 1917) describe the history of Bengal. His another work, *Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India* (1934) deals with the early period of the history of India.

He has also made remarkable contribution to the history of Orissa. Through his research, he has minutely dealt with the Orissan inscriptions. Various aspects of the Orissan history have brought into light by his effort.

His major research articles on Orissa are mentioned chronologically below:-

(1) "Patiakella Grant of Maharaja Sivaraja [Gupta], Samvat, 283", (1907-08)[9]

(2) "Note on the Stambhesvari", (1911)[10]

(3) "Parikud Plates of Madhyamarajadeva", (1911-12)[11]

(4) "Talcher Grant of Kulastambha", (1913-14)[12]

(5) "Two Baudh Grants of Ranabhanjadeva", (1913-14)[13]

(6) "Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves", (1915-16)[14]

(7) "Talcher grant of Gayadatungadeva", (1916)[15]

(8) "Bhanja dynasty of Orissa", (1917)[16]

(9) "Note on the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela", (1917)[17]

(10) "Neulpur grant of Subhakara – the 8th year", (1919-20)[18]

(11) "Hathigumpha Inscription of Emperor Kharavela", (1927)[19]

(12) "Dhauli Cave Inscription of Santikara, The [Ganga] year, 93", (1927-28)[20]

(13) "Rajput Origins of Orissa", (1928)[21]

(14) "Non-Buddhist Cave Temple", (1928)[22]

(15) "Baud Plates of Kanakabhanja", (1928)[23]

(16) "The Temple of Orissa", (1928)[24]

(17) "The Kara of Orissa", (1928)[25]

(18) "Antiquities of the Baudh State", (1929)[26]

(19) "The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela", (1929-30)[27]

(20) "Patna Museum Plates of Ranabhanja – the year 22", (1929-30)[28]

(21) "The Palaeography of the Hathigumpha and Nanaghat Inscriptions", (1931)[29]

(22) "Note on the Puri Plates of Dharmaraja", (1932)[30]

(23) "The Tekkali Plates of Satrubhanja", (1932)[31]

Besides these writings, his monumental contribution to the historiography of Orissa is his *History of Orissa* in two volumes.[32]

It is clear from the list of his research articles that most of them deal with the inscriptions. While deciphering and editing some of the inscriptions, he had tried to solve certain controversial problems. He got the Patiakella grant of *Maharaja* Sivaraja from N.N. Vasu for decipherment. He points out clearly that the date used in this inscription is that of the Gupta era. The donor's religion here is Saivism where as the donees were the followers of Vaishnavism[33]. The Parikud Plates of Madhyamaraja were given to him by Theodore Bloch. He has made a critical analysis of the language of the plates and says that very incorrect Sanskrit is used here and double use of consonants is not noticed[34]. He takes the era used in the inscription as the Harsha era and writes, "If my reading of the date be correct, I would refer to it Harsha era, though no instance of the use of this era has so far been found in Orissa. If my view be correct, the date of the grant would be 88+606 = 694 A.D."[35] In editing the Talcher grant of Kulastambha, he had corrected a name used in the inscription. In the line-3 of the obverse of this inscription, one name is read by N.N. Vasu as Kanchanasubhana,[36] where as R.D. Banerji reads it as Kanchanastambha.[37] He compares the character of the Baudh grant of Ranabhanjadeva with that of the Bamanaghati grant and refers to more archaic nature of the Baudh grant.[38] Similarly he points out that the characters of the Neulpur grant of Subhakara show that it belonged to the eighth century A.D. The inscription was later than the Ganjam grant of Sasanka.[39] He calculates the year used in the Dhauli cave inscription of Santikara according to the Ganga era.[40] He also marks the use of incorrect Sanskrit language in the Patna Museum plates of Ranabhanja.[41] On the analysis of the Puri plates of Dharmaraja, he is critical on the view of S.N. Rajaguru.[42] R.D. Banerji says, "In editing the inscription, Mr. Satyanarayan Rajaguru has not done full justice to the

printed literature on the subject of the Sailodbhavas". By studying the text of the plates, Banerji points out that the date 512 can be placed in the Gupta era, Madhavaraja II mentioned in the Ganjam plates was Sasanka's contemporary and Dharmaraja ruled much later than Madhavaraja II.[44] He refers to the importance of the Tekkali plates of Satrubhanja as it provides a date for the early group of the Bhanja kings like Silabhanja, Satrubhanja and Ranabhanja I and contains an elaborate genealogy. He reads the date as "*Samvat* 8,100 *Karttika sudi* 8."[45] But while editing these plates, S. Tripathy says that the date given by R.D. Banerji is not corresponding to any era. She gives the date as A.D. 1090.[46]

In the study of the epigraphy of early Orissa, he has minutely dealt with the Hathigumpha inscription. Discussions have been made on the discovery of the inscription, its decipherment, views of different scholars, orthography, language, symbols, identification of the place names found in the inscription and the text of the inscription.[47] R.D. Banerji and K.P. Jayaswal studied the Hathigumpha inscription on the spot. They refer to the opinion of Sten Konow and F.W. Thomas while examining the inscription. As regards the language, it has been pointed out that double use of consonants has been avoided even at the time of necessity.[48] The study of the character of the inscription shows that "this inscription belongs to the same period as the earliest inscription from Mathura edited by Buhler and it can not be earlier than the beginning of the 2nd Century B.C. or later than that of the 1st Century B.C."[49] R.D. Banerji in another research article has critically analysed the date of Kharavela given by the scholars like B.L. Indraji, J.F. Fleet, H. Luders, V.A. Smith and Sten Konow. Finally, he has provided a chronological table beginning from the death of Asoka. He says that in 183 B.C., Kharavela was heir apparent and his accession took place in 174 B.C.[50] K.P. Jayaswal and R.D. Banerji identify Kalinganagari, the early capital of Kalinga with Kalingapatanam.[51] But this view cannot be accepted. The Sisupalgarh excavation provides evidences which clearly prove that Kalinganagari can be identified with Sisupalgarh.[52] R.D. Banerji has also examined various inscriptions found in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri, which are noticed in the Manchapuri cave, Sarpa gumpha, Haridas cave, Bagh cave, Jambesvar cave, Chota Hathigumpha,

Tatwagumpha, Anantagumpha, Navamuni cave, Lalatendu kesari cave and Ganesa gumpha.[53]

He has discussed the history of the Bhanja dynasty on the basis of the inscriptions. He has analysed the genealogies of the Bhanja kings from a number of land grants and also examined the genealogical table given by B.C. Mazumdar.[54] By studying the Bhanja copper plates, he refers to two Ranabhanjas and says, "We have therefore, two distinct Ranabhanjas, one the son of Digbhanja, and the other, the son of Satrubhanja. A palaeographical examination of the Bhanja grants show that Ranabhanja, the son of Satrubhanja, came before Ranabhanja, the son of Digbhanja."[55] On palaeographical consideration, he has also divided the Bhanja inscriptions into two distinct groups. In the group I, he has placed seven inscriptions whereas in group II contained three inscriptions.[56] He has not agreed with the view of B.C. Mazumdar that Kanakabhanja belonged to 1475 A.D. He has critically examined the character of the Baud grant of Kanakabhanja and points out that this grant is not far from the Bamanaghati plates and Kanakabhanja can safely be placed to the beginning of the 12th Century A.D.[57]

Thus he has made an indepth study of a number of Orissan inscriptions. His analysis clearly shows his efficiency as an epigraphist.

R.D. Banerji's notable work is his *History of Orissa* in two volumes which were published in 1930-31.[58] The first volume consists of twenty two chapters and two appendices. In the preface, he says that R.P. Chanda had suggested him to write the History of Orissa. For this work, he also expresses his indebtedness to Pandit Tarakeswar Ganguli of the Mayurbhanj State, G.S. Sardesai, Paramananda Acharya and Raja Narayan Dev, chief of Baudh.

In this work while discussing the topography, he has referred to the extent of Kalinga in early times. He provides three natural divisions namely the "flat alluvial plain", hilly regions between the river Mahanadi and the Godavari and the area to the south of Mahendragiri consisting of the land on the banks of Languliya river.[59] He points out the historical geography. He has mentioned some significant places. He identifies Vinitapura with Sonpur. Khiching, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri are described as important places of antiquity in northern Orissa. He has referred to Ptolemy's map and Pliny's accounts.[60] He differs from the

view of Hira Lal who says that *Madhya-desa* is the border region remaining between south-western part of Bengal and northern part of Orissa. He writes, "whatever may be the traditional value of the word *Madhya-desa* in modern Orissa, nobody can deny that up to the Musalman conquest of Northern India, *Madhya-desa* meant the central portion of the United Provinces."[61]

He has discussed the Pre History of Orissa where he refers to the views of Coggin Brown, V. Ball and Bruce Foote. While describing the stone implements found from Dhenkanal, Angul, Talcher and Sambalpur, he has quoted the statement of V. Ball.[62] He writes about the shouldered implements found from Mayurbhanj and Neolithic sites noticed here. He points out that in Mayurbhanj, neoliths were discovered from the western side of the Bangriposi hills, areas between Manada and Jasipur and also from Baidyapur. For the study of these Neolithic sites, he has referred to P. Acharya.[63] Thus taking the discoveries of that time, he has devoted a number of pages to the antiquities of the Prehistoric period.

On the basis of the Hathigumpha inscription, he says that there was a period of Nanda rule in Orissa. He identifies Kalinga Jina with Sitalanatha, the 10th Tirthankara.[64] Referring to the overseas empire of Kalinga he points out its glorious past. He says, "In my opinion, the people of Kalinga, who have been proved to be pioneer colonists of India, Indonesia and Ocenia, are probably the very same people whom the Modern barbarians of the Pacific and Indian Oceans regard with awe and wonder as people from the sky who civilized them and taught them the rudiments of culture."[65]

He has also utilized numismatic sources. He has analysed the Puri-Kushana coins taking its classification by A.F.R. Hoernle into account. The circulation of these coins from Singhbhum to Ganjam shows the Kushana influence over this area.[66] Regarding the Gupta rule, he says that no part of Orissa was under the Gupta empire, but the area was influenced by the Guptas.[67] He has dealt with a number of ruling dynasties of Orissa. For the study of the Sailodbhavas, he has used the Ganjam plates, Buguda plates, Khurda plates, Parikud plates, Puri plates and Tekkali plates as the source materials. On the basis of these

inscriptions, he has discussed the problem of the genealogy of the Saildbhavas.

He divides the Bhauma-Kara (Bhauma-Karas are mentioned as Karas by R.D. Banerji) rulers into two groups. The history of the first group can be gleaned from the Neulpur plate of Subhakara and Chaurasi plate of Sivakara II. The other inscriptions deal with the second group. He has studied the Bhauma-Kara dynasty on the basis of a number of copper plates and mentioned the names of the lands donated by the rulers. In the appendix-I, he has critically examined the Hindol copper plate.[68] But B. Misra's reading of this copper plate is different from that of R.D. Banerji. Here in B. Misra's reading of the name of the place mentioned in the grant is different.[69]

R.D. Banerji has also referred to a number of minor ruling dynasties like the Bhanjas, Tungas, Sulkis and Nandas. He describes the Bhanjas as the "oldest representatives of the Royal dynasties of Ancient Orissa."[70] He rejects Hira Lal's identification of Khinjali with Keonjhar and says, "Modern Keonjhar is far away from the Mahanadi and therefore, it is extremely doubtful whether Keonjhar should be identified with Khinjali unless one is prepared to admit that Keonjhar at one time extended as far as the Ghumsur *Taluqa* of the Ganjam district."[71] He has examined the history of the Sulkis by taking Talcher plate, Dhenkanal plates, Orissa plate and Puri plate into account.

While studying the Somavamsi rule, he has referred only to four rulers namely Mahabhavagupta I alias Janamejaya, Mahasivagupta Yayati, Bhimaratha and Udyotakesari. He has vividly dealt with the Ganga dynasty. He has given his own interpretation regarding the date of the Ganga era. He has critically analysed the view of G. Ramdas who takes the reckoning of the Ganga era from Saka 271 or 349-50 A.D. R.D. Banerji has rejected this view and according to him the Ganga era was started in the first or second decade of the 8th Century A.D.[72] But later on K.C. Panigrahi gives 496 A.D. as the initial year of the Ganga era which is generally accepted by the scholars.[73] He owes his debt to M.M. Chakravarti while discussing the history of the Eastern Gangas from Bhanudeva I to Narasimha IV. He has elaborately described the political history of the Gajapatis. He has analysed the factor as to the fall of the Orissan empire. He forcefully points out his view.

> "We must admit that Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the political decline of the empire and people of Orissa. Not

> only that; the acceptance of Vaishnavism or rather Neo-Vaishnavism was the real cause of the Musalman conquest of Orissa twenty-eight years after the death of Prataparudra. Considered as a religion, Indian *Bhakti-marga* is sublime, but its effect on the political status of the country or the nation which accepts it is terrible. The religion of equality and love preached by Chaitanya brought in its train a false faith in men and there by destroyed the structure of society and government in Bengal and Orissa, because in reality, no two men are born equal and government depends upon brute force specially in a country like India in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries A.D."[74]

Later on much debate has been made on this view of R.D. Banerji by R. Subrahmanyam[75], P. Mukherjee[76] and K.C. Panigrahi[77].

The volume II of Banerji's *History of Orissa* contains eight chapters and four appendices. This volume deals with the Muslim rule in Orissa, Maratha rule, British conquest of Orissa and its administration. He has also devoted two chapters to the study of Orissan art and architecture. Regarding the European settlement in Orissa, he has referred to Bruton's writings and Bernier's statements. He has minutely dealt with the revenue of Orissa from 1594 to 1707 in a tabular form which has been collected from the writings of Jadunath Sarkar. He has also referred to the amount of revenue collected from different *Sarkars*.[78] He has written 147 pages on the Maratha rule in Orissa. The revenue settlement of the Marathas is discussed in detail. Here, he also provides Stirling's calculation of revenue.[79]

While discussing the British conquest of Orissa, he has examined the East India Company's treaties with the *Raja* of Kanika and twelve other chiefs.[80] Analysing the spread of education in Orissa, he has highlighted the role of the Bengalis. He says, "After the establishment of the Calcutta University the educated and liberal-minded Bengali appeared in a new role in Orissa. He went as he had gone to Bihar, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Rajputana and Central India and the Northern portion of the Central Provinces as the pioneer of Western education and culture. Bengali teachers conferred great benefit on the people Orissa and many an educated Oriya gratefully remembers the kindness, infinite tact and above all the vast learning of many Bengali

teachers and professors."[81] He has minutely dealt with the natural calamities like cyclone, drought, famine and flood in Orissa. He has mentioned specific years of these calamities and the affected areas. He has referred to twenty two high floods from 1831 to 1900. Here, he has given a well-researched analysis.[82]

While dealing with the Medieval architecture, he has made an elaborate study of the Orissan temples. In the analysis of the structure, he quotes from the *Prasada Lakshanam* of *Brhat-samhita* of Varahamihira. He has rejected the view of M.M. Ganguly that the Orissan temple building developed in the early part of the Christian era. R.D. Banerji takes the Parasuramesvara temple of Orissa as the oldest one which can be dated not earlier than the eighth century A.D.[83] Chronologically, he has arranged three temples namely the Parasuramesvara temple, the twin temples at Gandharadi and the Muktesvara temple. According to him, Gandharadi temple serves as a link in the process of evolution of the style of Orissan temples. He writes, "Up to this time there were no connections between the Parasuramesvara and the Lingaraja groups from the point of view of decorative *motifs*. Now we know that the Parasuremsvara, the Gandharadi temples and the *Vimana* of the Muktesvara represent one particular stage probably the earlier, in the evolution of the Orissan temple style."[84] He divides various medieval temples of Orissa into three groups. The Parasuramesvara temple, Gandharadi temples and Muktesvara temple come under the first group. The second group consists of mainly the Tantric temples at Baudh, Kutai-Tundi and Chandrasekhara temples at Khiching. The Lingaraja temple, Ananta-Vasudeva temple and Brahmesvara temple form the third group. After this group, there was a gap of almost a century. Then came the Jagannatha temple at Puri and the Sun temple at Konark. The noted aspect of Banerji's discussion is the analysis of the main features of the Orissan temples and the description of the style of architecture of a number of temples.

He has devoted one chapter to the study of plastic art of Orissa. While dealing with the Buddhist plastic art, he owes his debt to R.L. Mitra, H.C. Chakladar, R.P. Chanda and A.K. Ghosh. He has mentioned four stages of development of the Buddhist sculptures.[85] He points out

that the sculptures of Khiching was influenced by the art of south-western Bengal. He also says that three different stages are marked in the development of the plastic art in this area.[86] He has examined some typical characteristics of the Orissan temples. He writes, "The evolution of the chaitya-window as a decorative *motif* is nowhere better illustrated than in the early medieval temples of Orissa (800-1200 A.D.)."[87] He also refers to the Naga pillar as a noted feature in the medieval art of Orissa.[88] He expresses his own criticism on the art and architecture of the Jagannath temple. In his words, "The art of the Jagannatha temple at Puri is crude as its architecture." He further says, "There is certain stamp of haste and carelessness in every bit of carving that is still visible on its *Vimana* and *Jagamohana*."[89] But this view cannot be easily accepted. The architecture of the Jagannatha temple does not provide any indication as regards the decline in the creative spirit rather in the process of the evolution of the temple architecture in Orissa, it forms an "important landmark."[90] R.D. Banerji refers to the human figures noticed in the Konark temple as lacking high ideal in comparison with that of the temples of the Lingaraja, Ananta-Vasudeva and Raja-Rani.[91] His statement is that the best female figure of Konark as noticed by Cohn is not even superior to that of the female figures seen at Udayagiri, Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri.[92] Referring to its decorative features, he says, "The principal defect of the architect and artist is a general want of poise in overcrowding the available surface with human, semi-divine and divine figures, arabesque, ornamental foliage etc"[93] But his remarks cannot be taken for granted. There is inherent harmony and appropriate coordination between the sculpture and architecture of the Konark temple.[94] In the last appendix he has dealt with the Rajput origins in Orissa.

His *History of Orissa* in two volumes can be described as a treasure of source materials which are analysed from a scientific point of view. The chapters are well-designed and arranged chronologically. Elaborate discussions have been made on different dynasties. Although stress is given on the political history, yet he has mentioned about the revenue settlement of the Maratha *Subahdars* in Orissa, spread of education, natural calamities and medieval art and architecture. It can be

described as the first full-fledged history of Orissa. It is his foremost contribution to the study of the Orissan history.

Discussing the various works of R.D. Banerji, K.K. Das Gupta points out, "Rakhaldas, it appears, chiefly aimed at discovering the 'dry truth' from the mass of facts and in this respect he seems to have approached the ideal set by Ranke: 'Wie as eightlich gewesen', i.e. 'as it actually happened': And again in this respect he seems to have belonged to the school of Rajendralal Mitra, R.G. Bhandarkar and Akshyay Kumar Maitreya, all of whom were, in general, cautious and restrained, and approached their sources in a true scholarly spirit."[95] In his writings on Orissa, there is much display of archaeological source materials. He has given stress on epigraphy. He has made a critical analysis of a number Orissan inscriptions. In some cases, he differs from the views of N.N. Vasu and S.N. Rajaguru. His profound scholarship and keen research activity are well reflected on the *History of Orissà* in two volumes. No doubt, R.D. Banerji is a pioneering historian. His methodology and ideas were followed by the subsequent historians of Orissa.

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Orissa and Southeast Asia: A Discourse on Historiography

Patit Paban Mishra

Forging a link between north and south India, Orissa had long experience of commercial, cultural and military expansion. With a long maritime tradition, the people of Orissa had gone to Southeast Asia and left an imprint on its society and culture. Orissa's cultural influence played a dominant role until the end of fifteenth century. It became prosperous in the past through maritime activities. Making sea-voyages to distant lands, the merchants established commercial relations. Consequently, there was diffusion of Orissan culture in the region. The archaeological findings, inscriptions, architectural designs, religious beliefs, customs and place names underline the role played by the Orissan people in Southeast Asian history and culture. On the indigenous cultural substructure was raised a superstructure, the elements of which were contributed by various zones of India including Orissa.

I

There are number of articles by scholars like A.K. Pattanaik, K.S. Behera, K.K. Basa, N. Ping, N.K. Sahu, R.M. Sahu, S.K. Panda etc throwing some light on maritime past of Orissa. Starting from an article entitled, "Cultural Contact between Orissa and Southeast Asia in Ancient times" in *The Journal of Orissan History* (Vol. I, July 1980), the present author has published monogrpahs and have done field work on the subject.[1]

Due to flourishing trade and commerce since ancient days, the economic condition of Orissa was sound. It was producing goods and commodities like paddy, cereal, cotton, sugar cane, medicinal herbs, ivory, timber, iron ores, precious stones etc. in such abundance that after satisfying domestic needs, some of these items were being exported. The Orissan merchants collected those items through internal trade. There used to be market or *hatta* serving a number of areas as evident from the inscription of Jaipur of 7th-8th century C.E. and the Puri copper-plate inscription of Ganga king Bhanudeva II dated 1312 C.E.[2] The Kalibhana

plates of Janmejaya (882.922 C.E.) of the Somavamsis refer to *Vipani* or bazar[3]. Through commercial activities certain places developed as trading centres like Angulaka, Dantapura, Suvarnapura, Vinitapura, Murasimapattana and Varanasi Kataka. Hsuan-tsang had mentioned that Kalinga was connected with Tamralipti and Karnasubarna in the north and Andhra in the south[4].

The overseas trade of Orissa was carried by merchants through maritime activities by venturing into distant land since early times. Navigation in the Bay of Bengal had been carried out since pre-historic time. Orissa has a long seacoast stretching about hundreds of kilometres, which has been exploited for establishing long distance maritime contacts. Dotted with ports like Dantapura, Pithunda, Palura, Tamralipti etc; the glory of Orissa as a maritime power was so great that Kalidasa, referred to the king of Kalinga as 'lord of the sea' or *mahodadhipati* in his *Raghuvamsa*. Though no definite evidence is there as regards the motive behind maritime activities, it could be safely presumed that commercial zeal and love of foreign trade were the compelling forces. Under royal patronage, there was acceleration of trade and commerce. The art of navigation formed a part of curriculum of princes of Kalinga. Migration of population from Orissa at the time of political turmoil might have been also there. Existence of seaports and availability of materials for export gave impetus to overseas trade. Due to major role played by the people of Kalinga, the migrants in Southeast Asia are still known as *Keling* or *Kling* and this has been verified by the author in his field trip to the region.

Ample information regarding Orissa's maritime activities could be known from literary sources. As the merchants of Orissa had not left records of their oceanic voyages, the author has to depend upon scattered references in Indian and foreign literary sources. The eastern sea or modern Bay of Bengal was known sometimes s the 'Kalinga Sea' as evident from the Mahayana Buddhist text, *Aryamanjusrimulakalpa*, which mentions about *Kalingodresu* or all islands in the Kalinga sea. Asoka's invasion of Kalinga in 261 B.C.E. was to gain dominance over trade centres and natural resources of the region. The great strength of Kalinga was derived from its maritime trade. Kalinga's importance as a maritime power could be gleaned from classical texts like Periplus,

Pliny's Natural History and Potelmy's Geography. Pliny places Kalinga on the seacoast and the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* mentions about the availability of best quality of ivory in coastal Orissa[5]. Ptolemy refers about several ports of eastern coast including Palura, which acted as point of departure for sea voyages to Southeast Asia[6]. The Chines pilgrim Hsuan-tsang has referred to the city named Che-li-ta-lo situated on the shore of the ocean, which was a resting-place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands[7]. The chronicles like *Dipavamsa, Mahavamsa, Culavamsa, Manimekalai* etc mention about close political, cultural and commercial contacts between Kalinga and Sri Lanka[8]. The Orissan sailors were very much acquianted with sea route to Sri Lanka. Some stray references about Orissa's maritime activities are there in *Majjahima Nikaya, Mahabhaga, Jatak* stories, *Kathakosa* etc. There are some indigenous Oriya literary sources[9] giving references to role of Orissa in navigation of the Bay of Bengal. However, these are written after fourteenth century and evidences mentioned there in should be corroborated by other sources like epigraphic, archaeological, architectural etc which has been mentioned subsequently in this paper. In the *Mahabharata* of Sarala Das, who was a contemporary of Gajapati king Kapilendradeva, there is reference to Java and Sumatra. In the *Lavanyavati* of Upendrabhanja, it has been mentioned that ships were going to the island of Sri Lanka[10].

The maritime activities and cultural transmission of Orissa are things of past, but its reminiscences are there in folklore and festivals. People still recollect with a sense of nostalgia about oceanic voyages. A number of stories are there in folklore's which speak of *sadhabas* or merchants going to distant countries with their flotlla or *boita* and coming back with lots of treasure. The most popular legend relates to the story of Tapoi[11], who suffered a lot at the hands of her sister-in-laws. Her seven brothers belonging to a rich *sadhaba* family had gone to distant lands for trade and commerce by seven ships. When her brothers returned with treasure, wives were suitably punished. This story is commemorated in the festival of *Khudurukuni* in the month of August-September or *Bhadra*. One important aspect of this ritual observed by women folk is worship of ships. The people of coastal Orissa, particularly the fishermen and cultivators celebrate a festival known as

Dutibahana Usa which speaks of important role played by the *sadhabas*[12]. Memory of Orissa's oceanic voyages is to be found in the famous *Balijatra* festival that is celebrated on the foolmoon day in the month of *Kartika* (October-November). Miniature boats with burning lamp inside are floated. It is said that on this auspicious day, the *sadhabas* were going to Bali island[13]. The *Balijatra* is celebrated on the sands of river Mahanadi with thousands of people observing the ritual of floating miniature boats. In the innumerable folklore of Orissa the tradition of overseas trade is amply reflected. In the folk songs of the rural women, there is desire for the costly articles that were being brought earlier by the *sadhabas*. One folklore speaks about a woman's aspiration that her father-in-law would be king of village, mother-in-law the queen, her husband the emperor and she herself the chief queen[14]. In another song, the spinsters are said with satire that their future husbands are from *Javadvipa*[15]. The merchants were returning with lots of treasure and the relatives were hopeful that they would receive golden toothbrush[16]. Thus, festivals and folklore point to Orissa's maritime activities in the past.

II

It would not be out of place to analyze certain trends in recent writings of Indian historians to study relations between different areas of India with Southeast Asia. They have highlighted the developed base of the autochthonous societies of Southeast Asia. On this, a superstructure was created, which was mainly contributed by the Indians. H.B. Sarkar of the nationalist school in his later writings gave importance to the developed stage of Southeast Asian culture and wrote; " The material and cultural base of these autochthonous socities on the eve of Indian migration was of a standard that it could absorb the best that the Indian culture was capable of providing them with".[17] Devahuti emphasized the contribution of Southeast to India. While studying about the relations between India and Malaysia, she states that the Australoid people may have brought outrigger canoe, coconut and blowpipe from Southeast Asia to India.[18] S.N. Desai stresses the importance of indigenous beliefs and customs in spite of Hindu influence in Thailand, which mainly finds a place in the realm of royalty.[19] K.M. Srivastava points out that the Indian influence in Cambodia was confined to royalty (Angkor Wat and

Cultural Ties with India, New Delhi, 1987) and A. Chakravarti gives credit to indigenous talent in building the Indian superstructure (The Sdok Kak Thom Inscription: A Study in Indo-Khmer Civilization, Calcutta, 1978).[20]

The recent archaeological discoveries in both India and Southeast Asia have brought into light new facts about the relations between the two regions. K.K. Basa has done exhaustive research on commercial relations with the help of 'world system' theory as put forth by Immanuel Wallerstein in his book, *The Modern world System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (1974). The contact developed around fourth century B.C.E. and the main trading items were beads of different variety and bronze artifacts.[21] H.P. Ray has emphasized the role of Buddhism in India-Southeast Asia trade relations in framework of maritime archaeology.[22] In the last two decades, specific regions of India like Bengal and Orissa have gained attention regarding Indian cultural influence upon Southeast Asia. On the whole, these historians have put a balanced picture in the relations between the two regions. Analysing in a theoretical context, V. K Thakur has analyzed it from a different angle. Criticizing the historiographical myths of the works of the Greater Indian Society, he nevertheless gives due importance to the Indian cultural influence.[23] P.P. Mishra draws a parallel between the processes by which the dominant theme of Indian culture spread to different parts of India with spreading of the former in Southeast Asia. He also sees the Indianizaion process as an interaction between the two cultures and says, "An attempt to assign greater role either to India or to Southeast Asia would be futile. Moreover, giving importance to terminologies like Indic, Indianization, Classical or Indigenization would result into semantic controversy. The whole process of Indian cultural influence was interaction between culture of India and Southeast Asia."[24]

III

Myanmar

The constituent geographical parts of present Myanmar is the history of several peoples like the Mons, Pyus, Shans, Karens and Burmans interacting and fighting for supremacy for many centuries. The Burmese got the upperhand eventually and the area is known as Burma.

Afterwards the name was changed to Myanmar. The whole area may be regarded as tropical. In the north, the boundary between Myanmar and China has not been clearly demarcated. Rugged Arakan mountains separate northwestern Mynamar from states of Assam and Manipur in northeastern India. This part of Southeast Asia is adjacent to India and a land route existed since pre-historic times, when there was migration of different races between northeast India and Myanmar. On the west, most of Indian influence had reached through Bay of Bengal. The gulf of Martaban is on the southwest. On the eastern side, the frontier touches Thailand and Laos and the Pakchan river forms the southern boundary. Situated between two major powers India and China, Myanmar is influenced by culture of both.

The geographical proximity of Orissa and Myanmar had resulted in commercial and cultural relations from early times. There was some affinity of Mon-Khmers with the Munda speaking tribes of Orissa. From the prosperous Orissan ports like Palura and Che-li-ta-lo, sea voyages were undertaken to Southeast Asia through Menam valley of Myanmar. Through the Bay of Bengal separating eastern India from Myanmar, close relations developed between two regions. The legends of the country speak of people coming by sea to lower Myanmar region. According to these, trade relations between the two regions were there at the time of Buddha. Pali became the medium of cultural exchange. The Dharmasastras of Manu, Narada and Yajnavalkya formed the basis of treatise on law. Tapussa and Bhallik, the two merchant brothers of Utkala became the first lay disciples of Buddha, while the latter was having the bliss of emancipation at Rajagriha. They were going to Majjhima-desa region with five hundred cartloads of merchandise. The legends of Myanmar mention that two brothers were coming from Okalaba (a variant form of Utkala) to the delta of Irrawaddy. Tapussa and Bhallika received eight handfuls of hair from Buddha and these were enshrined in Asitanjana in a Chaitya in Sri Lanka.

Free from preconceived notions and with the newly discovered sources, the Indian historians in the last three decades have produced excellent monographs on the subject. It has helped in not only deconstructing the early Southeast Asian history, but also put the relations between the two regions in proper perspective. Glorification of

India's past dominated the Indian historical writing of nationalist historians and they saw Southeast Asian culture as the gift of India. This trend even spilled over in post independence phase for quite a sometime. Even now days, one finds in vernacular literature, folklores, and political and cultural meetings India establishing colonies in Southeast Asia. Only in the last two/three decades, Indian historians have taken a fresh approach to the subject and a subtle change is visible in their approach. It has helped in not only deconstructing the early Southeast Asian history, but also put the relations between the two regions in proper perspective. As the culture of India consists of plurality of traditions, the part played by Orissa also is portrayed likewise.

The names of ancient places resembling Orissan geographical places suggest the influence of this region. The old name for Pegu was Ussa (Odra, i.e., Orissa) and it was known as Kalingaratha in old chronicles. [25] Ukkala or Utkala was the northwestern part of the region. The name Sri ksetra suggests familiarity with the sacred place of Puri. Puri was named as Sriksetra after advent of Goddess Laksmi (or Sri). She was worshipped inside the area of Jagannatha temple before the construction of main temple. [26] Codagangadeva did not construct a separate temple for Laksmi. Puri as a Visnuite ksetra (place) is referred in the Visnu Purana of fifth century C.E. If the chronicles of Myanmar were to be believed, Visnu laid the foundation of the city. The Mons, who were also known as Talaingas had their capital at Trilingan, which had been linked with Trikalinga region of Orissa. However, this argument is not at all convincing. G. Coedes [27] has mentioned that in lower Myanmar region there were 'colonies' set up by people of Orissa, the principal one being Thaton or Sudhammapura. However, he has given no evidence in support of this.

The languages like Sanskrit and Pali had influenced the language and script of Myanmar. Some of the scripts of Southeast Asia are derived from the Siddhamatrka script used in eastern India.[28] Most of the inscriptions of early rulers of Arakan are written in the late Brahmi and Siddhamatrka script. The Pali language had contributed to the evolution of the vernacular literature along with important canonical literature and commentaries written in that language. There is a view that Pali originated from Kalinga-Andhrka region.[29] The basis of the argument is

derived from the cultural link between the region and Sri Lanka and the language of the first century B.C.E. i.e. Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela. The gold plates found in Maungun had scripts similar to the scripts used by the Matharas and the eastern Gangas. Some of the coins belonging to eighth century had symbols of Nandi and *Trisul*, which had close resemblance to the Ganga kings of Kalinga. Evidences of Buddhism coming to Thailand could be found from discovery of ivory comb having Buddhist motif and icons of Amaravati school of art.

Thailand

Orissa like other region of India has also influenced the culture of Thailand. The archaeological excavations conducted in the last two decades had pushed back the period of cultural contact between the two regions to pre-historic era. Ban Non Nok Tha (3rd to 2nd Centuries B.C.E.) lying on the western side of Korat plateau in Thailand contained burials covering neolithic and early metallic phases and has yielded untangled adzes, shell beads and cord-marked and rare painted pottery.[30] Another site Ban Chiang (mid-second millennium B.C.E.) situated about 120 kilometres to the northeast has yielded glass beads, pottery with fairly elaborate cord-marked, incised and burnished decoration. Bronze bowls (knobbed ware) and beads have been excavated from Ban Do Ta Phet (fourth century B.C.E.).[31] In general, the glass and precious stone beads found in Korat plateau in dated after 200 B.C.E.. From archaeological sites of Orissa similar items have been unearthed. Yielding of items like knobbed ware, semi-precious stones, beads of different varieties, pot-sherds etc from Sisuspalgarh, Jaugarh, Khalkattapatna, Manikpatna, Manumunda and Khambesvarapali are pointer to contact between Orissa and Thailand. Therefore, it can be inferred that maritime contact between the two regions commenced before Christian era.

The Mon kingdom of Dvaravati in lower Menam valley had received elements of Indian culture. From lower Irrawaddy and Menam valley Theravada Buddhism spread throughout mainland Southeast Asia. The Mons had extensive contact with eastern coast of India. There was direct communication between India and southern Thailand. In eighth and ninth centuries, cultural influence from Bengal and Kalinga penetrated the region. [32] The art and architecture of Thailand was greatly

influenced by Indian styles. The temple (Wat or Vat) stupa (P'ra), monastery (Vihara) and hall (Bot) are examples of Buddhist structures of Thailand. Monuments of Sri Deva, Visnulok, Svargalok, Vajrapuri, Lopburi, Sukhothai, Ayuthia and Bangok are marked by Indian influence. Certain similarities with Orissan style could be marked. The development of sikhara or curvilinear spire in temple architecture of Orissa was remarkable. There is resemblance between the sikharas of temples at Bhubaneswar and Maha Tat temple of Svargalok. [33] The twelfth century wat Mahadhatu shows affinity to the Bhubaneswar temples in detailed treatment. Mandapa is after the Orissan style. The walls of the wat had been painted with pictures depicting episodes from the Ramayana like the temples of Phimai and wat Phia Keo.From the Chanson area in central Thailand an ivory comb had been found with *Srivatsa* motif, which is similar in design obtained from Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. [34] There is similarity between clay ear plugs of Tha Kae with Khandagiri and Uudayagiri in Orissa. The images of Visnu, Brahma, Siva, Ganesa have been found in Thailand. They follow the rules of Indian *silpasastras*. Unlike Myanmar, evidences of tantricism are less. A four-armed Vatuka Bhairava image representing the terrific form of Siva has been found in Weing Sa. Bhairava is generally associated with tantric cult in India. The sculptural representations of Bhairava are there in Sakta temples of Bhubaneswar and Prachi Valley.

In some of the Thai festivals, one finds close affinity with their counterparts in Orissa. They are performed according to brahmanic rites. The royal ploughing ceremony of Thailand is very much akin to the Aksya Trutiya festival of Orissa.Cultivation for the year starts after the Lord of the Festival (Phya Raek Nah) tills the land with the help of officiating brahmanas. Napamas, the daughter of a brahmana priest and astrologer of king Rama Khamheng introduced another festival known as festival of lights (Loi Krathing) celebrated in the month of November.[35] She composed a Thai literary text known as *Tao Sri Chulalak*, where the brahmanic origin of the festival in early period has been mentioned. The names of Goddess of Rice (Mae Bhosop) and Goddess of water (Mae Kongkha) are invoked also. The latter has nothing to do with deity, pillar Goddess or (Khambesvari) of Orissa as

has been pointed by some historians. However, the floating of small boats made of lotus leaf or plantain bark with a burning candle inside is similar to *Boita Bandana* festival of Orissa.

Indo-China

The Indo-Chinese region comprising the former French possession of Cochin-China, the Tonking, Cambodia and Laos are presently independent states of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Here flourished powerful kingdom of Campa, Funan, Chenla, Angkor and Lan Xang. Before the Christian era, penetration by Indian and Chinese cultures began in the region. The mountain range of Aannam was the dividing line between two cultures: the Chinese influence was predominant to the north and east of the region, whereas Indian cultural influence was to the west and south. Vietnam has a rich pre-historical cultural heritage. In the former Hoa Binh (presently Ha Son Binh) province, archaeological discoveries in the 1920s have made famous the Hoabinhian culture that covered the mainland Southeast Asia from Myanmar and southern China southwards to Malaysia. The excavations at Dong-son in Thanh Hoa province has given the level of culture attended by Vietnam before the impact of Sino-Indian influences. The people of Campa known as Chams are ethno-linguistically Malay. Speaking Austronesian language, they inhabit the eastern coast of central and southern Vietnam. At its maximum territorial extent, it covered the central coast from Hoanh Son in the north to Phan Thiet in the south. The discovery of items like shouldered adzes, knobbed ware, glass beads etc. from different sites in India and Vietnam point to the relations between the two regions in pre-historic times. There was also commercial relationship between India and Vietnam in early times. Along the Asian sea route, trade and commerce increased during the first two centuries of Christian era. One of the trade routes between India and China passed through the coasts of central and southern Vietnam. The Indian traders arriving on the Malay coast were crossing the Gulf of Siam to reach the port of Oc eo in South Vietnam near the Cambodian border. The voyage then covered the coast post Campa to Chio-Chii port in Vietnam or on to Canton in China. Situated at a junction of canals linking the Gulf of Siam with the main channels of Mekong, the port of Oc eo was an entrepot from second to sixth centuries C.E.[36] Oc eo has

yielded beads, seals with Sanskrit inscriptions, gold medallions and rare piece of statuary. A standardized metal currency in the region was being used by sixth century C.E. and srivatsa coin became the prototype for coins of mainland Southeast Asia for a period of more than five hundred years.

The Jaina *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* mentions that since the time of Mahavira, the Chams were visiting the port of Pithunda of Kalinga for religious and commercial purpose. A story describes that a merchant from Campa named Palita got married locally and while returning to his homeland from Kalinga in a ship, his wife gave birth to a son named Samudrapala. [37]This legend throws some light on the contact between the two regions. In the same Jaina text, relationship between Orissa and Campa from the second century C.E. onwards has been mentioned. The capital of Kalinga in the second half the fourth century C.E. was Simhapura. The same place name Simhapura was capital of Campa for sometime. Similarity with the script of Kalinga is found in the Cho-Dinh and Hon-Cut inscription of king Bhadravarman. According to some scholars these along with Mi-son stele inscription has been written in Brahmi script of southern India.[38] The Cham temple scheme consists of a main shrine in the centre and secondary ones placed on either side. All shrines were arranged on a square terrace and above these rose three towers. The window-openings were of exquisite design having 'baluster-shaped mullions' like the Rajarani temple of Bhubaneswar. [39]

Visnu was known by various names and Purusottama was one such name. Prakasadharma constructed a temple for Purusottama at Duong Mong. Jagannatha of Puri temple is worshipped as Purusottama. In the Kautara region of southern Campa, Sakti worship was prevalent. The Goddess Yapu Nagara or Bhagavati Kautaresvari had a temple in Po-Nagar. Vicitrasagara built this in eighth century. Later temples were added to the brick building. The main sanctuary contains the image of Goddess Bhagavati replacing the original *linga*. In an inscription of Harivarman I, it was mentioned that the temple had remained empty and he installed a new image. Later day kings made donations to the Goddess. Bhgavati was worshipped at Bankada near Banpur, the capital of Kongoda of ancient Orissa. The decorative motifs of Mi-son group of temples include *makara torana* (crocodile shaped archways) niches.

This reminds one of beautifully carved *makara* heads in the archways in front of Muketsvara temple of Bhubaneswar. The dancing Siva balancing on the back of bull in some Cham icons is very much akin to the same types of images of eastern India.

Cambodia in its heyday corresponded to modern Cambodia, a part of Cohin-China and lower valley of the Mekong river in the basin of Tonle Sap. Laos bound this country of Indo-Chinese peninsula on northeast, South Vietnam on southeast, gulf of Thailand on the south and on northwest by Thailand. The majority of the people were Khmers, ethnically related to Mons of lower Myanmar. During the earliest or pre-Angkorean centuries of Khmer history, there were two successive kingdoms : Funan from second to sixth centuries and Chenla from sixth to the eighth centuries. The Chinese chronicles provide important information about the origin of Funan. It was founded by Indian brahmana Kaundinya, who married the local female chieftain. In the early history of Cambodia, there was no fixed centre of political power. The rulers promoted authority by legitimizing their rule through brahmans and proving their worth in the battlefield. The effectiveness lasted the lifetime of the ruler. In the early centuries of Christian era, small principalities arose across the map of Southeast Asia. Funan was one. The term 'multiplicity of centres' is more appropriate as O.W.Wolters says; "greater unities were very fragile consequences of the prowess of an individual ruler ".[40] The coming of Indian cultural influence was convenient for the rulers, who used it to buttress their political authority. This process of cultural interaction later resulted in affecting not only elite but also people in their socio-religious life.

Orissa's connection with Funan was through diplomatic relationship between two regions. At the time of Funanese king Fan Chan (225-250 C.E.) an Indian visitor had arrived in the court of the king. Afterwards the king sent his relative Su-Wu as ambassador to the court of Murunda ruler in India. He embarked at the port of Chu-li in Malay Peninsula and went by sea reaching the mouth of Ganga. Su-Wu arrived at the port of Tamralipti and met the king, who had the title of Mou-luan. The Murundas had set up an independent kingdom in eastern India with Pataliputra as capital after the decline of the Kusanas. They became prominent in Kalinga after the Satavahanas in second and third

centuries C.E. The Murunda rule over Kalinga could be attested from the discovery of a gold coin from Sisupalgarh. The Murunda rule over Kalinga is full of polemics. N.K. Sahu strongly believes in the theory of Murunda rule. B.N. Mukharjee takes an opposite view.[41] On the obverse of the above gold coint, the name of the king is read as Dhamadamadhara (Dharmatamadharasya), who received Su-Wu. [42] The king presented him with four horses. There were regular export of horses from the port of Tamralipti to Funan and Ko-Ying kingdom located in Java-Sumatra region. Yueh-chih or Kusana traders from Vanga region were monopolizing this trade.[43] Therefore, it is not unlikely that Kalinga was involved in this trade. Moreover, the people of Kalinga and neighbouring region of Vidarbha were using the port of Palura as point of departure to Southeast Asia. Kaundinya might have gone to Funan from the contiguous region of Vidarbha and Kalinga. The Kaundinyas, a Vedic tribe, had their homeland in Kaundinyapur in Vidharva.

Saivism had become popular in ancient Cambodia. He was worshipped under different names like Mahesvara and Tribhubanesvara. Somaśarma, the brother-in-law of Chenla ruler Mahendravarman (600-611 C.E.) installed a statue of Tribhubanesvara in a temple. Sasanka, the ruler of Karnasuvarna had constructed the Tribhubanesvara Siva temple at Ekambra Ksetra in Kalinga. This contemporary installation of same God could be a pointer to the close relationship between Orissa and Cambodia. The Buddhist monk Nagasena had mentioned that Mahesvara was worshipped at the top of Motan mountain. Shortly before 500 C.E., the Gangas of Kalinga were worshipping Siva Gokarnasvamin as tutelary deity on the Mahendra mountain.[44] Worship of Gokarnasvamin and Mahesvara belonged to same time. Probably Motan mountain was another name of Mahendra mountain of Kalinga. The founder of Angkor dynasty had established his capital at Mahendra mountain, where the brahmana Hiranyadama had performed the tantric rites concerning *Devaraja* cult in 802 C.E. Therefore, it could be inferred that the existence of Mahendra mountain and worship of Siva in both the regions point to close cultural relationship between Orissa and Cambodia. During the time of Isanavarman I (611-635 A.D) footprints of Siva were installed, which finds a reference in the Phnom Bayang inscription of 624 A.D. The followers of Pasupata sect worshipped the footprints as evident from the footprints of Siva temple constructed by

Vidyavisesa in Sakta *tirtha* of Cambodia. In India, worship of Siva's footprints is rare except in places like Ranipur-Jharial of western Orissa.

Vaisnavism also flourished in ancient Cambodia. Gunavarman, son of Funanese king Jayavarman (484-514 C.E.) commemorated the footprints of Visnu and constructed the Cakratirthasvami Visnu temple at Thap-moi in Plain des Joncs. In Orissa, Puri is known as *cakratirtha* and Lord Jagannatha is Cakratirthasvami. In medieval Orissa, the kings were sons and viceroys of Visnu-Jagannatha and they were deified as moving Visnu or *Calanti Visnu.* Rulers whose predecessors were followers of Siva constructed two largest temples dedicated to Visnu of India and Southeast Asia. Jagannatha-temple in Puri by Codagangadeva and Angkor Wat by Suryavarman II. The institution of worshipping moving images or *calanti pratima* was prevalent in Orissa and Cambodia. In some of the festivals of Jagannatha temple, the *Sudarsana cakra* (disc) as *calanti pratima* was carried around the city. [45] In Angkor also, *calanti pratima* of *linga* was consecrated on Mahendra mountain by Jayayvarman and venerated as *devaraja* by the successive rulers. Therefore, cultural affinity to an extent was there between both the regions.

The Khmers had excelled in the field of art and architecture with their stone vault, decorative details, pyramidal mass, splendid lintel stones, carved figures and bas-relief depicting scenes from Indian mythology. Though some of the Khmer monuments had Indian origin, local touch was always there. The walls of the monuments of early period had been engraved with scenes from Indian mythology, but it had been decorated according to Cambodian style. There was also remarkable evolution of temple architecture with the addition of galleries, pyramidal construction in several stages and lofty central towers. The richness of architectural design is found in the temple of Banteay Srei constructed by the preceptor of Angkor king Rajendravarman II (944-968 C.E.), Yajnavaraha. It consists of three tower-shrines on a single terrace with Siva as the main deity. The *sikharas* in the shape of curved arches over the doors are similar to the Orissan temples. In the Banteay Srei and Preah Khan temples, the bullioned openings are very splendid and are akin to temples of Bhubaneswar. In Angkorean sculptures, the round eyebrows and deep plump lips are of Orissan variety. [46]

Angkor wat, built by Suryavarman II is one of the perfect architectural complexes of the world. This Visnu temple with its five towers, three floors, walls and moats symbolizes the cosmos, topped with mount Meru, which is abode of Gods. The whole area is rectangular enclosed by a colonnaded wall. Angkor wat has more than two square kilometres of bas-reliefs representing episodes from the Ramayana and Mahabharata and pictures of life of local people. These are considered pinnacle of Khmer art. The five towers of central temple were symbolic of peaks of mount Meru. Incarnations of Visnu are portrayed on an elaborate frieze relief. Overall, Angkor wat was a blending of different styles with indigenous innovation. In open part of terrace on each side of entrance, halls small shrines were there, which are similar to *pancharatha* (division of shrine tower into five vertical segments) pattern of Orissan temples.

Situated in the heart of Indo-Chinese peninsula, the land-locked country of Laos is surrounded by China in the north, Vietnam in the east, Cambodia in the south, Thailand, and Myanmar in the west. Fa Nagum established the first unified state of Lan Xang (million elephants) in 1353 C.E. with the help of Angkorean king Jayavarman. As far as Indian influence was concerned, Hindu and Buddhist practices came to Laos in the early centuries of Christian era through Chinese, Khmers and Thais. [47] It is difficult to have an exact idea of the period of beginning of cultural contact between India and Laos due to absence of historical records. According to local tradition, a Buddhist shrine (That) was built in Laos during Asoka's time. The Ourangkharittan chronicle mentions that That Luang of Vientiane was earlier built by a Buddhist monk Phra Chao Chanthaburi Pasithisak to keep the Buddhist relics brought from Rajgir in India. From about first century onwards, the Lao living in southern part of China had set up principalities. The Chinese imperial power had extended southwards along the Indo-Chinese coast and there was constant pressure on these principalities by China. In 69, C.E. King Luang Limao of Muong Ngai Lao principality was influenced by Mahayana Buddhism from China. The Chinese Emperor Mingti had brought from India the image of Buddha and Tripitaka. According to the tradition mentioned in Pongsavadan Lao, the Chinese defeated the Laotian king, who had been deeply influenced by Buddhist culture. Then

the Laotians migrated to Nanchao in Yunnan and established a powerful kingdom under Sinhanara, whose successors ruled upto the middle of seventh century. These kings came under Indian cultural influence.[48]

The Orissan style is one of several Indian types that contributed to development of art and architecture in Laos. Architecture of That Luang shows close affinity with medieval temples of Orissa. The pillars of Wat Phra Keo also have been influenced by the Orissan pattern. The majority of Lao stories were derived from the *Pancatantra*. It was translated into Lao language by Phra Samgharaja Vixula Mahaviharathipati in 1507 C.E. of Wat Vixula Mahavihan. The *Pancatantra* stories written by Visnu Sarma of Orissa [49] became very popular in Laos. The Lao version consisted of five *Pakon* (*Prakarana*); Nanda, Manduka, Pisaca, Sakuna and Samgha. The Lao inscription of second half of fifth century compares King Sri Devanika with many personalities including Indradyumna. The legend relating to Indradyumna speaks of Jagannatha temple built by him which later disappeared on sands. The existence of Purusottama in Puri before the great temple was built is attested by inscriptions and later works.[50] In daily life and public ceremonies, traces of Orissan influence are still found. The custom of buffalo sacrifice at Wat Phu might have been influenced by tradition of animal sacrifice in some of the temples of eastern India. This might have been also an indigenous custom. The habit of betel chewing among people of Laos reminds one of this common practice prevalent in Orissa and other parts of India.

Malayo-Indonesian Region

The region now designated as Malaysia consists of peninsular Malaysia along with Sabah and Sarawak in northwestern Borneo. Separated from the Malay Peninsula by the straits of Malacca, the Indonesian archipelago comprises of group of islands like; Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes Moluccas, Flores etc. The Malay Peninsula along with the Indonesian islands is called the Malay world. In Southeast Asia, the Malay people inhabiting Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines are the largest ethnic group. The region had a rich pre-historical heritage. Discovery of artifacts and metallurgical objects has pushed back the cultural history. Between 4000 and 1000 B.C.E., the neolithic mode of technology appeared. Bronze and Iron made its

appearance from 500 B.C.E. onwards. Situated in the area of Bay of Bandon on the east coast of Malay peninsula, P'an-p'an was on trade route between India and China. The Chinese text *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* says that numerous brahmans came in search of wealth and they were a favoured lot of the king. Even his ministers were from Kalinga region of India. The chief ministers were known as Po-lang-so lan, K'un-lun-ti-yeh, K'un-lun-po-ho and K'un-lun-po-ti-so-kan and the Chinese text mentioned that in the vernacular K'un-lun and Ku-lung had the same sound so that one could say either. [51] This Ku-lung is no other than Keling or Kalinga.[52] From P'an-p'an the brahmana Kaundinya II went to Funan. Another state called Tamralinga was located between Chaiya and Pattani with its centre in Ligor region. The kingdom was already in existence in second century C.E. Located directly across Bay of Bengal, and on trans-peninsular route to east, Kedah (Katah in Sanskrit) was a well-protected harbour. The Malay Peninsula with its ports assumed importance in trading network involving Rome, India and China. Ships of Roman Empire were coming to Southeast Asia from Indian Ocean and they were calling at the port of Takupa (Takkola) and to the port of Klang further south.

The rise of kingdom of Sri-Vijaya with its capital at Palembang in southeastern Sumatra was a consequence of decline of Funan and inability of Chenla to function as intermediary in East-West trade. Gaining control over the two important maritime passages, i.e., the straits of Malacca and the Sunda straits, Sri-Vijaya's control extended to rich hinterland of Kedah and Perak. Unlike the Javanese states dependent upon agricultural products for consumption and export, Sri-Vijaya's power was based upon maritime commerce. At the end of tenth century, Sri-Vijaya's relationship with Java deteriorated and the expedition against Java in 1016 C.E. resulted in the destruction of the capital. At this time, the Colas of south India as an expanding maritime power resented Sri-Vijaya's attempt to dominate and tax ships passing through the straits. In the thirteenth century, Ayuthia and Majapahit reduced the authority of Sri-Vijaya. There was also spread of Islam resulting in setting up of small Muslim principalities. Ultimately the Sri-Vijayan kingdom broke up.

The people of Kalinga had maintained trade relationship with mainland and inland Southeast Asia from its prosperous ports like Tamralipti, Palura, Pithunda, Che-li-ta-lo, Kalinganagara etc. Elements of Indian culture were there in Tun-hsun of Malay Peninsula in early centuries of Christian era and the Chinese texts refer to five hundred families of merchants and more than thousand brahmans from India. Taking into account Kalinga's maritime activity in this period, it could be assumed that some of the above Indians might have been from Kalinga. From sites like Kuala Selinsing on the Perak coast and Kalumpong island large quantities of beads of carnelian, crystal and glass have been found. The beads are reported from Orissan sites like Sisupalgarh, Manikpatna and Sambalpur. Collared beads and crystalline quartz have been found from Sisupalgarh and Sambalpur respectively.[53]

Java was separated on the west by Sunda strait and from Balli on the east by Bali strait. Central location among myriad of islands, fertile soil capable of sustaining a large population, command over alternate trade routes between the East and West through Sunda straits, access to spices and sandal wood of archipelago, large fertile plains and rainfall suitable for growing rice etc - all these factors made Java dominant power in the region. The cultural accomplishment of the region included use of outrigger canoes, wet-rice cultivation, wayang or puppet shadow theatre, garmelan orchestra, batik works in textiles and megalithic tradition. Before coming into contact with Indians, the Javanese society was already developed. Ho-ling in central Java was a coastal centre having interaction with China in fifth century. The kingdoms that arose in central Javanese rice plains in sixth century were based on a system in which one centre was establishing superiority over other regions. Ho-ling's early history relates to a woman leader Sima and sending embassies to China. It was a centre of Buddhist culture in the seventh century and local scholar Jnanabhadra (Joh-na-poh-to-lo in Chinese) translated Buddhist texts along with the Chinese scholar Hui-ning, who had come to Ho-ling in 664-65 C.E.[54] From about the middle of eighth century to the middle of ninth century Sailendras were predominant in central Java. One of important dynasties of the region, their cultural legacy is best remembered by the magnificent monument of Borobudur. The Sailendras were patrons of Mahayana Buddhism. Borobudur

became the central point for legitimizing their rule. Bhanu (752-775 C.E.) was the first ruler of the dynasty, then followed by Visnu (Pancapana), Indra and Samaratunga (812-832 C.E.). Under the Sailendras, a full-fledged kingdom had come into existence.

Evidences like archaeology, inscription, similarity of names, art and architecture attest Orissa's relationship with Malayo-Indonesian world. Several traditions of the region also speak of people of Kalinga migrating to the region and establishing kingdom. Though legends could not be taken as historical proof, they point to acquaintance of Malays with the Kalingans. Taking into account other evidences, it could be safely presumed that, people of Orissa came to the Malayo-Indonesian region, established trade relationship and in the process left some imprints of Orissan culture. Archaeological excavations in both the regions have thrown new light on the cultural contact. The sites like Kuala Selinsing and Pengkalan Bujang in Malay Peninsula and graves of Java have yielded carnelian beads. In northwest Java, the Buni complex site has thrown new evidence in the form of Indian rouletted ware of the first and second centuries of Christian era. Sites around Sulawesi and Sulu Seas have also yielded carnelian beads. Rouletted wares have been discovered from Sisupalgarh and Manikpatna in Orissa and archaeological sites of Mantai, Kantarodai and Anuradhapur citadel in Sri Lanka. The discovery of rouletted ware from Orissa, Sri Lanka and Indonesia is a testimony of maritime network linking these regions. Whereas the northern black polished ware point to north Indian contact, the rouletted ware had primarily east and south Indian contacts. This had distribution focussing around the Bay of Bengal but extending upto the coasts of Java and Bali. [55] The discovery of beads from different sites in Malayo-Indonesian region and Orissa are also pointer to trading contact between the two regions. Shasmalla's coins have been found form Polonnaruwa in Sri Lanka, Manikpatna in Orissa and Kotchina in Sumatra. Presence of five hundred families of Indian traders in the Tun-hsun kingdom on the shores of Isthmus of Kra assumes significance in view of the trade between India and Malay world. Some of these traders might have hailed from the region of Orissa. The people of Kalinga played an important role in establishing cultural contact with Java. Kling is a generic term used for people of Indian origin. The word is derived

from Kalinga and the term Orang Keling means people of Kalinga origin. Several traditions prevalent in Indonesia mention people of Kalinga coming to Java, Sumatra and Bali and residing there. [56] These speak of commercial and cultural contact of Kalinga with Java.

A legend speaks of twenty thousand families being sent by the prince of Kling to Java and these 'people prospered and multiplied'. [57] However, they continued to live in an uncivilized state until God blessed them with a prince named Kano in the Saka era 289. The three generations of kings ruled for a total period of four hundred years. At the same time, another principality named Astina came into existence under Prince Pulasara. He was succeeded by Abiasa and the latter by Pandu Devanatha. The reign of the three princes amounted to one hundred years. Another ruler Jaya Baya, who wrote this account, removed the seat of government from Astina to Kediri. According to this legend the rule of Kano started in the year 211 C.E. and his successors ruled for four hundred years, i.e. upto 611 C.E. The Kutei inscription of Mulavarman dated 400 C.E. speaks of three generations of rulers and the first local leader was Kundunga. Kano and Kundunga might have been the same person. Moreover, some affinity is there in the script of Mulavarman's inscription and Kalingan script. The legend becomes accurate when it refers to Jaya Baya. He was successor of Airlangga and ruled from 1135 to 1157 C.E. He is the hero of Mpu Panuluh's *Harivamsa* and his reign produced the famous Old Javanese work *Bharatayuddha*, the story of great battle in the *Mahabharata*. For this reason, the legend has taken ancestors of Jaya Baya from the characters of the *Mahabharata* like Pandu, Abiasa (Vyas), Pulasara (Parasara) and the place name Astina (Hastina). The Sejarah Melayu or Salahat as Salatin refers to the story of Kalinga Vichitra, who descended from heaven and appeared at Palembarg in eastern Sumatra. He became the ruler of the region. Brushing aside the events mentioned in legends not conforming to historical authenticity, it may be said that people of Kalinga came to the Malay-Indonesian region, established commercial contact and probably helped the local chiefs in building political entities.

According to the T'ang histories like *Chiu T'ang Shu* and *Hsin T'ang Shu*, Ho-ling kingdom of Central Java (640-818 C.E.) extended from sea to sea and it was an important centre for Buddhist studies. It

was aiso known as Walaing. Ho-ling was the Chinese transcription of Kalinga. [58] Envoys were sent to China in 640, 648 and 666 C.E. The Chinese pilgrim Hui-ning translated the Sanskrit texts of the Theravada into Chinese under the direction of Jnanabhadra, a resident of Ho-ling. In the history of Tang dynasty it has been mentioned that the people of Kalinga took as their ruler a powerful lady named Sima. However, the Chinese had not adopted in seventh and eighth centuries, 'ho' to transliterate 'ka' of a foreign language, hence Ho-ling kingdom was not the Chinese equivalent of Kalinga.[59] The Canggal inscription of king Sanjaya dated 732 C.E. refers to the consecration of a *linga* on a mountain in a *desa* called Kunjarakunja. It was believed that the area was located in Kalinga, which was famous for elephants. There is also an identical name in south India between Trancore and Tinnevelly, where the sanctuary of sage Agastya was located. However, Sanjaya built the sanctuary in Kedu Plain of Java itself. Regarding the origin of 'Sailendra dynasty, one theory linked them with Pandyas of south India claiming descent from Siva. They assumed the title *minankit* Sailendra meaning Lord of the mountain and used carp as their emblem. [60] There is another view putting an Orissan background for the Sailendras. Their origin is traced to the Sailodbhabas of Kongoda region. Hard pressed between the Bhaumakaras of Utkala and Gangas of Kalinga, they migrated to Suvarnadvipa through the seaport of Palura.[61] The Kalingans who had migrated to Java earlier might have helped new migrants in carving out a kingdom. Another historian holds the view that the Sailendras migrated from Kalinga or nearby region and extended their hold in lower Myanmar and Malay Peninsula. [62] After the establishment of Sailendra supremacy, the Javanese inscriptions mention names like Kling or Kalinga. So, the argument is concluded by saying that some royal prince of Sailodbhabas established the Sailendra dynasty. However, the Sailendras were Buddhists, whereas the Sailodbhabas of Orissa were not patrons of this faith. Moreover, the mountain cult and consecration of *linga* on it were indigenous beliefs. The kings like Mulavarman, Jayavarman II, Sanjaya etc performed this ritual concerning foundation of their kingdoms. So, there is no conclusive evidence to prove the Orissan origin for the Sailendras.

In spite of the fact that Orissan link could not be established with Kunjarakunja, Ho-ling and origin of Sailendras; the inscriptions of Malay peninsula and Indonesian archipelago point towards Orissa's close association with the region. The mid-fifth century Tugu inscription of Purnavarman mentions that a canal of fifteen kilometres in length regulated the river Chandrabhaga. He is credited with many works on irrigation also. The river Chandrabhaga was connecting sea at Konarka in Orissa. Therefore, Purnavarman was familiar with Kalinga. The king Jayanasa of Sri-Vijaya constructed a public park in his capital Palembang in 684 C.E. and named it Sriksetra. This assumes importance, as Sriksetra was another name of Puri, where the Jagannatha temple was built. The Javanese inscriptions dated between ninth and eleventh centuries also prove the contact between Orissa and Java. The candi Kalasan inscription of 778 C.E. by king Panangkarana refers to the "lion of kings making repeated request to future kings: this bridge of religion which is the common property of (all) men should be protected by you at all times".[63] The similarity of this passage could be found in plates of Somavamsi kings of Orissa, Govind Candra of Kanauj and Kadamba inscription of Nilagiri. The Kuti copper plate inscription of Java dated 840 C.E. speaks of porters and servants in the inner apartments coming from Kling (Kalinga), Kmir (Khmer), Karnaka (Karnataka) Cempa (Campa), Singha (Sri Lanka) and Malayata (Malabar).[64] The records of king Airlangga of Mataram dynasty refer to foreign merchants coming to his kingdom bringing different commodities. These were from regions like Kalinga, Aryya, Gauda, Cera etc. The name Kalinga is mentioned first which shows the importance of the region. A river in East Java was known as Kali Keling or river Kalinga and an inscription of 1194 C.E. from the same region mentions Jurn Kling or chief of Kalinga people. In the Majapahit kingdom, a charter from Jiju of Surabaya region refers to king Girindravardan as Bhatare Kling or lord of Kling and an inscription of 1447 C.E. describes his wife Kamalavarnadevi as queen of Kalingapura.[65] Therefore, it may be inferred that two principalities of the name Kling and Kalingapura were there across river Kalinga. It may also be mentioned that one of the districts of Java was called Desa Buddha Kling or land of Buddhist Kalingas.[66]

Certain names also point towards close affinity between Orissa and Indonesia. In folklore of Indonesia, there is the story of king Jomojaja, who got a divine weapon. He also saw in a dream about Goddess Mahisasuramardini. The name of the king bears similarity with Orissan king Janmejaya. But this similarity alone does not prove anything regarding the cultural influence from Orissa. The argument that the name Borobudur is derived from Lord Balabhadra of Puri temple does not deserve any merit. In the Kutei inscription of Mulavarman dated 400 C.E., there is a reference to illumination of Akasdvipa. The lighting of lamps during the month of *Kartika* (October-November), which is favourable to sea voyage, is an important ritual in Orissa. In west Java, Goddess Laksmi is still worshipped as promoting fertility in rice fields. She is known as Ni Pohaci Sangyang Sri. At the time of harvesting in Orissa paddy is worshipped and it is known as *Laksmi Puja*. Puri was named as Sriksetra after advent of Laksmi (Sri); so name Sri for Laksmi in Orissa and name Ni Pohaci Sangyang Sri of Java point towards cultural affinity.

The various styles of Orissan art have influenced in varying degree art and architecture of Indonesia. In the Javanese candis, the three main components are basement, body and roof. It is generally three tiered structure crowned by a *stupa* for Buddhist temples and *amalaka* for Hindu candis. The reliefs depicted on walls are from Indian religious texts and Javanese shadow play. In the Dieng plateau, temples belonging to first half of eighth and ninth centuries are one of the oldest. In Orissa also there is a Panca Pandava temple in Ganesvarapura belonging to Ganga period. The candi Bima of this group has stepped tiers that are akin to the *sikharas* of Orissan temples. The system of placing *parsva devatas* in the Dieng group are different from Indian temples. The only except was the icon of Durga in the form of Mahisasuramardini occupying northern niche as in several temples of Orissa.[67] The *chaitya* windows form an important part on the decoration of temples of Orissa. The niche enclosed by these contains important cult images. The *kala-makara* heads of arches and *kirtimukhas* at the crown are common decorative motifs of Orissan temples. These motifs are found in Dieng group of temples and *candi* Kalasan of Java. Makara is mythical crocodile-like creature. The *Kirtimukha* motif shows the head of a lion-like creature with beads coming out from its mouth. The greatest

representative of Javanese art and architecture is the famous Buddhist stupa of Borobudur. Some of the sculptured images of Buddha show similarity with its counterpart from Orissa. The Dhyani Buddhas arranged along the four facade remind one of massive heads of Buddha at Ratnagiri. Tapering halo of Buddha in *bhumisparsamudra* found in Ratnagiri and Borobudur is very much akin. In the vicinity of Borobudur, the candi Mendut is located; whose exterior walls show nine sculptured Bodhisattvas sitting on lotus. They are not dissimilar to the same type of images of Lalitgiri and Kendrapara of Orissa.[68] On the rear of outer walls, a Bodhisattva image is supported by a lotus and its stem flanked by the nagas. This combination of lotus and serpent could be found in monastery of main shrine, two images carved on a single stone number two of Ratnagiri. In the gateway and surrounded by children are found. The armour clad male figure on the south is holding a spear and the female on the north is dressed like a Roman matron. The whole scene is like Kubera and Hariti seated in *lalitasana* pose at the entrance of Ratnagiri monastery.[69] In the main shrine, there are three massive stone statues: a Buddha in *dharmacakramudra* flanked by two Boddhisattvas. The same type of triad is there in Ratnagiri. Another candi nearby known as Bayon temple has stepped tiers resembling with the *sikharas* of Orissan temples. Moreover, the holding of a Javanese kris (dagger) by the doorkeeper of the Parsuramesvara temple of Bhubaneswar amply testifies to the widespread contact between Orissa and Java.

Situated between Java and Lombok, the island of Bali presents a picture of Hinduism and Buddhism that has survived to the present day. The initial trade contacts between India and Bali gradually developed into social and cultural influence from India, which paved way for a composite Balinese culture. The Balinese people had by early centuries of Christian era had flourishing local industries as burial sites have produced iron, bronze, glass and carnelian beads. Discovery of Indian rouletted ware of first and second centuries of Christian era from Sembiran have established the fact that Indian traders were coming to the region. The finds from Sembiran and Gilimanuk point towards a brisk trade linking Roman empire, India and Southeast Asia. The Indian influence began to spread with growth in trade.

The archaeological excavations conducted in Bali have proved the beginning of Indo-Balinese relations dating to early centuries of Christian era. Compared to Java, the contact started late. Yielding of rouletted ware, glass beads, semi-precious stone beads, pot sherds with Kharosthi characters etc from Bali were pointers to cultural contact between it and different regions of India. Gilimanuk in western coast of Bali has yielded bimetallic artifacts of both bronze and iron datable to first century B.C.E. The burial assemblage has produced early metal phase pottery and Indian type of gold foil funerary eye cover. The site of Sembiran situated in northeastern Bali on the district of Tejakula has yielded items datable to first and second centuries of Christian era. [70] The direct connection of traders from Indian coasts to Bali is an established fact after these discoveries. The X-ray diffraction analysis of the rouletted ware 'conclusively supports an Indian origin'. This ware is widely distributed in India: Candraketugada, Alangankulam, Arikamedu, Sisupalgarh, Manikpatna and Anuradhapur. A trading network had developed between Sri Lanka, eastern coast of India and island of Bali. A potsherd with three characters of Kharosthi script have been recovered from the waterlogged basal deposit of trench number VII. [71] The local sherds found in Sembiran are akin to pottery from Gilmanuk. From Manikpatna in Orissa, a potsherd inscribed with Kharosthi has been found. Candraketugada and Tamrlipti have also yielded similar items. Monochrome glass beads were recovered from Sembiran. Carnelian and glass beads were found from Gilimnuk. The glass beads were of Indian origin. The Orissan sites such as Sisupalgarh and Manikpatna have yielded such glass beads.[72] Therefore, Bali in the early centuries of Christian era was located on a major trading route. The Indian traders visited these ports. Indonesian ships and traders were also active in the area. Both local and foreign traders visited the coastal region of Bali.

Buddhism was introduced in Bali in early part of fifth century C.E. The Purvaka Veda Buddha contains the Buddhist priest's daily ritual and Buddha Veda mentions the death ritual. In Bali, there was Siva-Buddha tradition, which regards Siva as elder brother with age-old privileges and Buddha as younger one with ascetic qualities. In ceremonies, the consecrated water brought by a Saivite priest is mixed

with that of a Buddhist. The practice of Buddhist priest is called Yoga, whereas that of a Saivite is known as Bhakti. Due to Javanese influence, there was worship of Dhyani Buddhas and Prajnaparamita. There was affinity between Orissa and Bali as regards Buddhism. Even a section of brahmans in Karangasam district regards themselves as Brahmana-Bouddha-Kalinga. The votive tablets with inscriptions and figures of Buddha and Boddhisattvas have been found from Bali, as well as from Ratnagiri, and Avana in Orissa.[73] In the daily ritual of a Buddhist priest, God is addressed as Jagannatha, Suresvara and Ruder. According to Veda Buddha the daily ritual begins with following slokas,

Ksamasva mam Jagannatha sarvapapavinasanam, sarvakaryapranadevam pranamami Suresvaram.[74]

The name Jagannatha in above prayer is suggestive of Orissa's contact with Bali. In Orissa tradition, Adi Buddha is referred as Jagannatha. In Bali, Siva also was worshipped as Jagannatha and priests chant slokas like, "Om Ksamam mam Sivadeva, Jagannatha hitamkara". So, there was some sort of rapprochement between Siva, Buddha and Jagannatha in Bali and in this influence from Orissa is marked. Like the famous Car festival of Puri, the Balinese carry three wooden Gods in a procession. Masks resembling the three deities, Jagannatha, Balavadra and Suvadra of Orissa cover the three wooden Gods of the procession.[75]

The Balinese celebrate festivals like Sivaratri, Saraswati Puja or *Odalan Sarasvati* and Durga Puja (*Page Wesi*). In certain festivals, influence of Orissa could be marked. The Orissan legends speak of merchants going to distant islands like Java and Bali. To commemorate that tradition, the people of Orissa take a dip in river water and float miniature boats with a candle burning inside it. This is celebrated in the month of October/November on the day of *Kartika Purnima*. On the banks of the river Mahanadi in Cuttack, large number of people congregate for this festival of Bali Yatra or Journey to Bali. The *Masakapam kepesih* ceremony of Bali is observed by floating of small boats having burning candles with the belief that the child is being sent to his original homeland in Kalinga.[76] Like the people of Java, the Balinese worship of Sri Devi by the side of cornfields is akin to worship of Laksmi in month of Margasira (November-December). Laksmi is associated with paddy-worship in Orissa. She is also known as Sri. At

the time of harvesting, housewives worship paddy. This happens in the month of Margasira. Paddy-worship has become synonymous with Laksmi-worship.

There are also similarities in food habits, manners and dress designs of both the regions. The thick fluid of cooked rice is called *peja* in Orissa and Bali and *arua* is uncooked rice made out of parboiled paddy. The practice of cooking young leaves of drumstick tree (*Maninga oleifera*) or *sajana saga* is an item of delicacy in Orissa and Bali. Some other common food items are: curry made out of flowers and stem of banana plant and cake made of rice-flour known as *manda* and *endori pitha* in Orissa.[77] The habit of chewing betels and keeping the ingredients in a wooden box are found in both the regions. In home of a Balinese, the guests are offered betel leaf and nut as in Orissan homes. The practice of bending down and stretching right hand towards ground while passing along elders sitting on the way is a common behaviour in both the regions. Raising of folded hands, as a common form of greeting is a practice in both India and Bali. The bridal dress and crown are similar in Orissa and Bali. Rounding of hairs by women in typical bun is alike in villages of Orissa and Bali. Even some of the ornaments and dresses of Balinese women resemble its counterpart found in Orissan sculptures. The famous Sambalpuri style of textile weaving has influenced the tie and dyes weaving known as *Patola* in Bali. In Balinese cremation textile, Orissan *Kumva* designs are there. Bali is famous for various dance form and dramas, where themes of Indian mythology predominate. The *Lari-bubung* dance has its impact from eastern India. In the *kecak* (monkey) dance and *barong* (tiger) dance of villagers, some influence of Orissan dances of tribals and *Paika* dance (a form of martial dance) could be marked.

Free from preconceived notions and with the newly discovered sources, the Indian historians in the last three decades have produced excellent monographs on the subject. It has helped in not only deconstructing the early Southeast Asian history, but also put the relations between the two regions in proper perspective. Glorification of India's past dominated the Indian historical writing of nationalist historians and they saw Southeast Asian culture as the gift of India. This trend even spilled over in post independence phase for quite a sometime.

Even now days, one finds in vernacular literature, folklores, and political and cultural meetings India establishing colonies in Southeast Asia. Only in the last two/three decades, Indian historians have taken a fresh approach to the subject and a subtle change is visible in their approach. It has helped in not only deconstructing the early Southeast Asian history, but also put the relations between the two regions in proper perspective. As the culture of India consists of plurality of traditions, the part played by Orissa also is portrayed likewise.

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11 K.P. Mohanty, *Bratakatha O Parvaparbanire Samudrajatrara Suchana,* in K.S. Behera (ed.), *op.cit.,* pp. 163-65.

12 A.P. Pattanaik, "Smruti O Bismrutira Ketoti Chhinnasutra" in K.S. Behera (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 107-11. The *Dalkhai usa* mentions about ship building. Festival like *Satynarayan puja, Trinatha mela* and *Sanschara mela* etc also represent stories of *sadhabas* and their role in trade and commerce. See N.C. Panda, "Úsa Bratare Nau-Banijya Paramparara Suchana", in K.S. Behera (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 156ff. In the *dipabali* festival also drawings of ships are made and *dipadana* is reminescent of paying homage to ancestors by the *sadhabas* see, K.P. Mohanty, *op.cit.*, pp. 166-167.

13 K.P. Mohanty, *op.cit.*, pp. 165-6.

14 Pathani Pattanaik, "Odissara lokakathare Samudrajatra" K.S. Behera (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.75. The song goes like this. "Sasura hoïbe ga rajana lo, sasu hoithibe rani... mo girastha heba kanak rajan, mun hebi patarani".

15 *Ibid.* "Achhi Achhi bara jhia jabadwipa ghare". In another, coastly ornaments like diamond, pearl etc are mentioned : "*Mesa chakshyu nila, brahmajati hira, tara mukuta kukuta dimba para".*

16 J.B.. Mohanty, "Odia loka gitare nau-chalanara parampara" in K.S. Behera (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 117. The folksong goes like this : *Mo bhai asiba daria kati lo, hate suna dantakathi.* The sailors were going to distant lands after crossing seven seas for buying and selling : *Sata samudra arapare ho kariba kina bika, Ibid.* Even name of different commodities like textiles, salt, lime, spices, sandal wood used in trade are mentioned in the folklors : *Jahaji guaku lo ae gujurati, bohunka panakhia bada aniti... tankikia sadhi takara more, kali asiba baotia bhare, Ibid, pp. 117-8.*

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Historians and Historiography of Medieval Orissa (1822-1949)

Basanta Kumar Mallik

The history of Orissa in general irrespective of periods, first of all, was written by the British administrator-cum-historians since the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The visible antiquities of Orissa and her rich cultural heritage aroused active interest of the British historians to record them in the form of history. The interest in historical composition and research methodology improved in course of time. Trained in research methods and being in touch with contemporary literature of the natives, particularly the Oriya and non-Oriya scholars, took up the challenge to write the history of Orissa. With the formation of Orissa as a separate province (1936), the local school of historians came to realise the importance and relevance of writing history and cultural heritage of their own province. In the present paper, there is an attempt to elucidate the historians and historiography of medieval Orissa particularly of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Phase-I:

Andrew Stirling was the first to publish an account of the history of Orissa. This pioneering work, *An Account: Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa. Proper or Cuttack*, was published in the `Asiatic Researches' in 1822. On the basis of the available materials, a Sanskrit work called the *Vamsavali* and a chapter of the *Madala Panji* called the *Raj Charitra* (annals of the kings) in Oriya language and another *Vamsavali* or Genealogy, he tried to construct a chronological history of Orissa.[1] The work was particularly confined to the modern undivided districts of Cuttack and Puri. Apart from giving the chronological account since the beginning of the Kali age (3001 B.C.) the genealogical account of Yuddhisthira Deo and Mahabhava Gupta, Stirling discuses the archaeological remains like Udayagiri-Khandagiri caves, religion and religious life of early and medieval Orissa.[2] He also describes the political history of the *Gajapati* rule, their relationship with the kings of Kanjivaram *(Kanchi)* depending upon the Ferishta's account. Discussing the Mughal and Maratha rule in Orissa he has

exposed the oppressive nature of the Maratha rule, which has been lateron supported by Sir Jadunath Sarkar with reference to Portuguese sources and some of eye-witness accounts. Thus he writes on Maratha rule. "The Maratha administration in Orissa was quite fatal to the welfare of the people and prosperity of the country. It exhibited a picture of misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity and violence combined, which makes one wonder how society can have been kept together under so calamitous a tyranny".[3]

He further writes,

"Notwithstanding, the large military bodies were posted all over the district, the Marathas were quite unable to retain the *Khandaits* and their *Paikas* in any sort of order".[4] This gives a reference to the continuous agrarian conflicts between the Paikas and Marathas which needs attention for further research.

A galaxy of other occidental scholars soon followed Stirling. The leading luminaries who contributed to the study of medieval history of Orissa are Fergusson, William Wilson Hunter. and John Beams. Fergusson's *History of Architecture,* published in 1865, contained a chapter on Orissan Art. Most of his discussion on temple architecture pertains to specimens belonging to early medieval and medieval times But the work was important in so far as it directed the attention of others in the late nineteenth century to the rich architectural remains of medieval Orissa.[5]

William Wilson Hunter's 'Orissa', in two volumes was published from London in 1872. This was carried out in form of second and third volume of his large project work entitled "Annals of Rural Bengal". Hunter made a sincere effort to depict the history of Orissa in its varied dimensions. He endeavoured not only to reconstruct political history but also attempted a study of different aspects of religions and cultural history of early and medieval Orissa. The Most important contribution to historiography of India was made by Hunter was not only the "Rural History but the History of the people as well". He writes in the introduction of his Orissa, Vol. I.

"The History of religion is, in India the history of the people. The ethnical revolution in new ruling classes ceased in very ancient time. The rise and fall of the Orissa dynasties have been connected not with tribal movement but with religious reformations. line of kings represent a new era of worship and of spiritual belief. Its elevation to power takes place amid the birth-throes of a fresh popular creed, its decay is contemporaneous . with the decline of the national religion, and its fall is consummated amid the extinction of the old rites and the coming in of new".[6]

Hunter's analysis of the religious link with the rise and fall of dynasties in Orissa appear apparent. His Orissa, vol-II deals with the medieval history of Orissa, which quite prejudiced against the Mughals and Marathas. He has unfortunately characterised the Mughals and the Marathas as foreign governors to Orissa, where as he put English as settelers and governors in Orissa (1835-1871). However, interestingly enough he has given wide references to the natural calamities of Orissa like floods and famines, social structures like village system and growth of private rights in the soil. His statistical accounts of the undivided Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts, nineteen tributary states, specimen of different floras, chronicles of Orissan kings, Muslim Orissan history by Persian accounts, analytical account of the vernacular literature of Orissa, district geographical survey, population, their caste and profession, contemporary irrigation, canal system and proprietary right etc. provide us a lot of information on economic, social and cultural history of the people of nineteenth century Orissa.[7]

His source of information constituted from his vast field study in Orissa and Bengal apart from the consultation of some Sanskrit works, the records of Chinese travellers and fragmentary passages of Muslim Chronicles.

John Beam's *The History of Orissa under the Mohammedan, Maratha and English Rule* was first published in 1882 in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol.52, part-1 from Calcutta. He has provided a comprehensive analysis of political and administrative history of the Mughals and Marathas. He wrote this booklet at a time when a vigorous movement led by Raja Rajendralal Mitra and others was going on for substituting Oriya language by Bengali in Orissa. Beams being a great

supporter of the Oriya language wrote in 1882, which was a great boosting to the then Oriya identity and language movement. He wrote,

"That they (Oriyas) are not an offshoot of the Bengalis is proved by the fact that their language is already formed as we now have it. at a period when Bengali had not yet attained a separate existence and the deltaic portion of Bengal was still almost uninhabited. So that, in fact, they could not sprung from the Bengalis, simply because there were no Bengalis to spring from".[8] His statement certainly had given a strong blow to the anti-Oriya movement in nineteenth century.

The pioneering work of Stiriling, Fergusson, Hunter and Beams provided the stepping stone for subsequent researchers, The scholars had their limitations, but in all fairness their works should be judged in the historical context. The importance of their contribution lies not so much in what they achieved but in the legacy they bequeathed to the succeeding generations of historians.

Phase-II

Hunter's work had already anticipated the major shifts to systematic and conscious historical writing. The second phase is conspicuous by the active participation of Indian historians in the work of the reconstruction of medieval Orissan history. In this context the works of M.M. Ganguly, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and R. D. Banerjee substantially contributed to understanding the theme under review.

M.M. Ganguly's *Orissa and Her Remains: Ancient and Medieval,* first published in 1912 was a landmark in the rise of historiography of early and medieval Orissa. The author has tried to give a scientific exposition of the principles of architecture and sculpture of early and medieval Orissa. Apart from the scientific analysis, the author has scholarly treated the work and placed impartially above the regional biasness. Comparing the glorious past between Orissa and Bengal he writes, "Taking everything into consideration, and inclined to think that Orissa has far more glorious tradition of past history than Bengal may possibly claim, and that she acquired a more prominent place than Bengal in the hierarchy of Indian nation".[9]

The author raises an interesting question in his references to the presence of erotic figures which are so commonly found in Orissan temples. The explanation offered is that *adhyatmika* (spiritual) character which is little convincing as such explanations are general. The author has given the details of the scientific analysis of the building materials and the metal beams etc. of the celebrated temples at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konark.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Studies in Aurangzeb 's Reign (being Studies in Mughal India,* first series,) was first published in 1912. This book contains one chapter on Medieval Orissa i.e. "Orissa in the Seventeenth Century", Sarkar rightly attributed that the seventeenth century was the most important period in the annals of the country. It was also important in case of Orissa since she remained under the prominent Mughal Emperors from Akbar to Aurangzeb. At the outset Sarkar mentions about the relevance of the Persian sources to the history of seventeenth century Orissa The sources he has mentioned are (1) *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir* (Memoirs of Jahangir) (2) The *Muraqat-i-Hasan* (Letters of Moulana Abul Hasan who served the Subadars of Orissa as Secretary for about 12 years (1955-1667), (3) Letters addressed by Aurangzeb to Murshid Quli Khan, the Diwan of Bengal Bihar and Orissa included in Imperial secretary Inayetullah Khan's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* and (iv) *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* or Memoirs of Shitab Khan giving the history of Bengal and Orissa during the reign of Jahangir.[10]

Apart from giving the list of Mughal Subadars in Orissa, Sarkar has also discussed the seize of the temple of the Lord Jagannath by Raja Keshodas Maru (a Rathor of Meetra) in 1607, Raja Kalyan Rai's raid on Khurdha in 1611, and conquest of Khurdha by Makarram Khan in 1617.[11]

An example of the oppression of the peasantry and *zamindars* by Baqar Khan has been recorded and Shah Jahan was good enough to remove him from his post on 24 June, 1632. Apart from the revenue collection, Sarkar also gives although stray but interesting references to the Zamindars' revolt against the Mughal Subadars during the periods of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib. Raja Krishna Chandra Bhanja of Hariharpur (Mayurbhanj), Laxminarayan Bhanja, the Raja of Keonjhar, the *Zamindar* of Hijli, Raja Mukundadev of Khurdha and the *Zamindar of* Ranapur, Sarangagarh, Domapada, Malipara and Khalikote rose in rebellions,[12] that need further research.

Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. I (1739-1754), third edition in 1964, is also important for studying the medieval Orissan history. It deals with the problems of Maratha incursion into Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during early eighteenth century. Discussing the political condition of Mughal Orissa, the author describes how Alivardi won and lost coastal Orissa and rewon it in 1741.[13] Referring to Portuguese and Persian sources, Sarkar describes the devastations, atrocities and brutalities like rape, murder, plunder and torture of the people committed by the Marathas in Bengal and Orissa.[14] He also describes how Katak was re-conquered by Marathas in 1749.

Sarkar's another distinguished book *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings* was first published in 1913. He wrote from Sri Chaitanya's contemporary Bengali biography i.e. *Chaitanya Charitamrita* of Krishnadas Kaviraj and published it in 1913 under the title, *Chaitanya: His Pilgrimage and Teachings. In* 1922, he published the same work under the modified title of *Chaitanya's Life and Teaching.*[15] This book is distinctly important for the cultural history of medieval Orissa. The book has been divided into three parts. At the outset, Sarkar has given a brief life-sketch of Krishnadas Kaviraj (1517-1582), the author of *Chaitanya Charitamrita,* who completed it in AD 1581. Thereafter he presents a short life of Sri Chaitanya. The Part-I of the book deals with the household life of Sri Chaitanya. He describes in the Part-II, the pilgrimage of Sri Chaitanya and his preaching and discourses at various places tike Vrindavan, Bengal, Puri and in South. In the Part-III, the author writes Chaitanya's life in Puri as the servitor of Lord Jagannatha. His discourses on "Devotion as the Aim" and "Love, the fruit of Devotion",[16] are indeed, very much significant from the point of view of the Bhakti Movement in India.

R. D. Banarjee's *History of Orissa* volume-I was published in 1930 and volume-II was published in 1951. Of the two volumes only vol-II is relevant for the period of our discussion. Banarjee has discussed the struggle between the Muslims and early British administration. He has also contributed a chapter on medieval architecture".[17] Banarjee's views on the decline of medieval Orissa and its link with Chaitanya's.[18] movement based on his *premabhakti,* appears to be biased and unscientific, which could be analysed to have been caused due to inherent economic crises and crumbling down of the military organization at that time.

Phase-III:

The closing two decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century witnessed the matured development of historical writing in Orissa. Though very much in keeping with the spirit of the 'Age', the basic concern of historians was dynastic history yet the discipline had come a long way since Stirling's sporadic references. The Nationalist historians had taken over the torch from the orientalist–imperialist school of historians. In the fields of methodological vigour, analytical fitness and factual richness, great strides had been taken during this period.

Pyarimohan Acharya (1851-1881) was the pioneer among the sons of the soil to write the history of Orissa. His *Odisar Itihas* was first published in 1879 in the Oriya language. He wrote this book with a nationalistic fervour when Ganjam and Sambalpur districts were separated from Orissa by the British, and along with it the Oriya Language Movement' was already on its vigorous swing. Pyarimohan himself was one of the leading figures of this language movement. His research methodology was quite scientific and he followed the sources both foreign (colonial) and indigenous. He consulted the works of Stirling, Hunter, Sutton, Toynbee, Elphinstone, R. L. Mitra, Muslim Accounts, articles on Orissa from Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Oriya and Bengali sources like *Manu Samhita, Chaitanya Charitamrita* and *Dardhyata Bhakti* etc.

As regards to the Mughal and Maratha Orissa, the author has tried to trace into the origin of the Mughals, coming of the Mughals to India and their conquest of Orissa. He has characterised Emperor Jahangir as the first independent ruler of Orissa. Besides this, the European settlement in Orissa, establishment of Bengali colonies in Orissa, the list of Maratha Governors and their oppressive rule. The most important thing with Acharya was that he initiated the writing of the history of Orissa in the language of the people, when the language protection movement was ongoing.

In the early twentieth century Jagabandhu Singh's *Prachina Utkala* was first published in 1928 in the Oriya language. He started writing regularly in '*Mukur*' since 1917 and compiled his writings in form of a book in 1928. Apart from giving the antiquitic reference to

Utkala, vivid account of the Oriya language and literature and Sanskrit. He has also devoted one chapter on Sri Chaitanya and his movement in Orissa.[19] Thereafter, he discusses the political history of Orissa under the Afghans, Mughals and Marathas. The most important thing is that different aspects of the economic and socio-cultural history like the economic condition,[20] industries, commerce, religion, monasteries, land rights and the scenarios of Chilika lake etc.[21] have received his attention.

Soon followed Krupasindhu Mishra's Utkal Itihas, which was published in 1929, in Oriya. He has described the geographical boundaries of ancient Orissa, Social structure and the pattern of change with the coming of Aryans to Orissa.[22] Apart from discussing the history of the Gangas, Gajapatis, Mughal and Marathas the new aspects hitherto he discussed the history of administration in *garhjats,* Sambalpur and Ganjam entitled as the *Samantraj* (feudalism).[23] It is quite interesting.

In between, there appeared two scholarly works, one is Paramananda Acharya's *'Vamshanucharita* or *Geneological Accounts of the Mayurbhanj Raj* Family, published in 1927[24] and Binayak Mishra's *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa,* published in 1933. The author, Sri Mishra has tried to study the origin of many major and minor dynasties with etymological analysis. He used informations available from the epigraphic records and tried to identify the places mentioned in epigraphy as far as possible that enables readers to form an idea of the extent of territories of different dynasties".[25] It is a noble attempt on historical geography of early medieval Orissa.

H. K. Mahatab's *History of Orissa* first published in 1949 forms a landmark in the modern historiography of Orissa. It consisted of three lectures on the history of Orissa which was delivered by H. K. Mahatab under the R. K. Mookherjee Lecturership Endowment of the Lucknow University in 1949. It combined together all the available source material-literary, epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological. It aimed at a systematic chronological dynastic and cultural history. His History of Orissa Vol-II, published in 1960 contained the most informative analysis of the Mughal and Maratha rule in Orissa. Under the chapters of British rule, the author has given emphasis of the people's response

to British rule. He describes the peoples resurgence movement in Orissa from 1765 to 1803 including the Khurdha rebellion of 1817 and different aspects of the great famine of 1866.[26]

The writing of the History of Orissa was undertaken by a galaxy of Oriya scholars with new research methodology and new techniques since the beginning of the late twentieth century. But the historians of Orissa, since nineteenth century to early twentieth century, have endeavoured to go into the depth of study by applying the etymological analysis. Another important aspect of discovery that is found with the Nationalist historians of Orissa, that they have contributed to analyse social, economic and cultural history along with the dynastic history of Orissa.

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Historiography of Orissa in Colonial Phase: A Study on Some Native Historians

Kailash Chandra Dash

I

The British conquest of Orissa in 1803 led to the establishment of a new colonial setup and administration in Orissa. It demanded multiplicity of changes in the socio-cultural milieu. The colonial administrators in Orissa from the beginning of their rule over the colonized wanted to know more about the antiquities and history of the province. This quest began with the submission of two reports on the history of the temple of Jagannath by Charles Groeme (1805) and George Webb (1807). Jagannatha being the fulcrum of Orissan politics in the pre-colonial phase, this history was very necessary for colonialism. In course of time the colonial officers started an enquiry into the history of the province in a systematic manner and the outcome was Andrew Stirling's[1] report on Cuttack which was submitted in 1821 and printed in Asiatic Researches in 1825. Stirling based his comprehensive study mainly on the traditional accounts *Madalapanji* and *Vamshavalis in Orissa.* He was followed by Bhabani Bandopadhya[2], William Hunter[3], John Beames[4], Rajendralal Mitra[5] and Pyarimohan Acharya.[6] The colonial viewpoint was to cater to the need of administration of the people. Their observation was biased and sometimes on the basis of a misinterpretation of the literary documents available to them. They directly accepted the traditional accounts in Orissa and did not look at the different stages of their formation. The archaeological sources, though scant, did not receive proper attention from them. Despite all their shortcomings, the colonial historical trend was responsible for mapping the history of Orissa from the early phase upto the British conquest and it created a historical consciousness in Orissa. This consciousness led to the compilation of the history of Orissa in Oriya by Pyarimohan Acharya[7] and Sitanath Ray.[8] The discovery of copperplate grants and inscriptions, archaeological surveys in Orissa in the last part of the 19th century A.D. led to a change of the map of Orissan historiography. A desire to combine epigraphy with literature soon manifested with the publication of Oriya periodicals and magazines

– *Utkala Dipika, Sambalpur Hiteisini, Odia O Nabasambad, Utkala Sahitya* and *Utkala Prabha.* Historians outside Orissa like M.M. Chakravarti[9], M.M. Ganguly[10], R.D. Banerji[11], N.N. Basu[12], R.P. Chand[13] and others studied the history of Orissa on the basis of an interpretation of the epigraphic and other archaeological sources and this led to a change of colonial historiography on Orissa of the early phase. Till 1920 this group dominated the domain of Orissan historiography. They published papers in the famous journals like the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Bihar Orissa Research Society. In Oriya a number of articles on Orissan history were published in *Utkal Sahitya* on the basis of recent archaeological and literary findings. The wealth of materials consisting of an analysis of literary texts, traditional accounts and epigraphic documents led to the emergence of a phase of new historigorpahy in Orissa. Therefore in this paper my emphasis would on the trends of nationalist historiography in Orissa in the first phase of the 20th century A.D. on the basis of literary documents of archival significance.

II

The great native historians who had delved deep into the past of Orissa and made several reconstructions were Mrutyunjaya Rath, Jagabandhu Singh, Tarini charan Rath, Pandit Arttatrana Mishra, Chandramohan Maharana, Kripasindhu Mishra, Brajabandhu Das, Brajabandhu Patnaik, Mahendra Pattnaik, Gopabandhu Vidyabhushan, Paramananda Acharya, Kedarnath Mahapatra, Satyanarayana Rajaguru, Lakshminarayana Harichandan Jagaddeba of Tikkali, Ghanasyama Das, Vinayak Mishra and many others. Their views were published in different literary and historical journals and in the different sessions of Utkala Sahitya Samaj, utkala Sammilani and other associations. An important institution to foster historical consciouness in this phase in Orissa was the Utkala Sahitya samaj. This Samaj which was founded in 1903 had considerable progress by 1905 and then it wanted to take up the task of the compilation of the history of Orissa. The Assistant Secretary of the Samaj, Chandrashekhar Nanda in the third session in December 1905 had highlighted the programme of the Samaj which

included the compilation of the history of Orissa. Several aspects of Orissan history and culture were discussed in the different sessions by Mrutyunjaya Rath, Jagabandhu Singh, Bhagaban Pati, Kripasindhu Rath and others. In 1917 this Samaj had founded an institution called Orissa Research Scoiety (Anusandhan Samity) for the purpose of the collection of historical facts for a comprehensive history of Orissa. The president of this sintitution was Jogesh Chandra Ray Vidyanidhi and members from cuttack, Puri, ganjam, Balasore, Baud, Sambalpur and Singhbhum were selected for the prupose. Sadasiva Kavyakantha, Biswanath Rath, Jagabandhu Singh, Tarini Charan Rath, Balunkeswar Msihra, Rudranarayana Sadhangi, Chintamani Acharya, Fakir Charan Sahani, Kripasindhu Msihra, Gopal Chandra Praharaj, Madhusudan Dash, Mrutyunjaya Rath and Pandit Artatrana Mishra were the great members of this Association. Their findings and reports constituted valuable source for the compilation of the history of Orissa.

The contemporary situation in colonial Orissa from the beginning of the 20th century A.D. drew the attention of the enthusiastic Oriysas for their past. The language movement in colonial Orissa in which Oriya language was ably safeguard, the deplorable condition of the Oriyas in different neighbouring provinces and the form of Nationalist protest in India from 1905 A.D. also motivated to write their history showing their past significance. They wanted a comprehensive picture of the past of their race for sustaining their identity which was fragmented. It led to the birth of a historical consciousness which was linked with the construction of a regional linguistic and cultural identity. The formation of Oriya province on linguistic basis and situating Orissa province in the national mainstream at a time when other linguistic basis and situating Orissa province in the national mainstream at a time when other linguistic provinces had already got domination led to a reconstruction of their history. The enthusiastic Oriyas wanted to change the colonial historiography of Orissa and a new trend was in progress consequently. This was truly a nationalist passion and Oriyas reconstructed their own history on the basis of new interpretation of the extant archaeological and literary sources.

III

From the time of Pyarimohan Acharya and Sitanath Ray in the last phase of the 19th century A.D. a form of Orissa history existed. In English different volumes were presented by R.D. Banerji and others. But the Satyabadi associates of Pandit Gopabandhu Das (a progenitor of Oriya nationalism) and many other enthusiastic Oriyas. They were enthusiastic activists with a reformist and constructive attitude and had imagined a spectacular past for their race identity. Thus history was greatly imagined and the colonial construction had several revisions in their hands. Gopabandhu Das, Nilakantha Das, Kripasindhu Mishra and Jagabandhu Singh wanted to write history on the basis of local traditions which they twisted for the glory of the Oriya race. For that purpose literary magazines like *Satyabadi, Mukura, Sahakara* and *Navabharat* were used. Gopabandhu Das for activating the Oriyas to go in a way of progress delved deep into traditional accounts and constructed history on their basis. An important example can be furnished in this context. His *Dharmapada*[14] is a revised version of the extant traditional account and was meant for Oriya identity formation and articulation. Kripasindhu Mishra in his *History of Konarka*[15] changed the traditional account on Kalapahad for covering a disgrace. Originally the traditional account on Kalapahad was that the queen of Mukunda Deva served beef to the Muslim general Kalapahad to satisfy him. This version was used in the *History of Orissa* by Pyarimohan Acharya[16] in the last quarter of the 19th century A.D. Kripasindhu Mishra in his account on Konarka had transformed the version and stated that the queen of Mukunda Deva had offered jewels (hira) in the golden plates to satisfy Kalapahad. This transformation of the traditional account in Orissa was linked with the formation and articulation of Oriya identity. The history of the Oriyas must be based on glory and not disgrace-it was a motto of the Satyabadi group. This nationalist temper in the history of Orissa began from the twenties of 20th century A.D. The articles of the Oriya historians were published in different periodicals and magazines from the second decade of the 20th century A.D. The interesting debates on the birth place of Jayadeva in the Utkala Sahitya Samaj hall in the second decade of the 20th century A.D. by Mrutyunjaya Rath and Jagabandhu Singh constituted a marker of Oriya identity and necessary for reconstructing the history of Orissa on a nationalist line.

While the Satyabadi group had considerable progress in writing the history of Orissa for the Oriyas on their interpretation of traditional accounts, other enthusiastic writers appeared on this horizon to elaborate their project. In this respect the contemporary media had also played a remarkable role. The aim of this historiography was the projection of the glories of the Oriya race before the Oriyas. Brajabandhu Das[17] was a noted historian of this phase. His scattered articles on the history of Kalinga and other aspects were published in *Mukura, Utkala Sahitya* and *Nababharata.* His focus covered ancient geography of Kalinga, the origin of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, the rise of Somavamsha in Trikalinga and Sailodbhava dynasty as significant parts of the history of Kalinga. These were published in the *Utkala Sahitya* in the 1920s. In his focus, he had identified all the Oriya speaking areas with Kalinga and had given an elaborate account of the history of Kalinga in ancient and early medieval phase. He had contended that the Utkaliyas, the people of Kalinga had not shown any interest in the history of their race. The European and the Bengali historians were not able to collect actual fact and figure for the history of Orissa, as Orissa was fragmented under different linguistic provinces. Hence the history presented by them was not complete and correct. He had treated the history of all Oriya speaking areas lying in Bengal, Madras, Bihar and Central Provinces as the history of Kalinga and demanded a full and elaborate study. In this analysis he combined the account of *Madalapanji* with the evidence furnished by the recently discovered copperplate grants. He was the first writer to describe the rogin of Gajapati title which was used for the first time by Anangahima Deva on the basis of *Madalapanji.* His most interesting work was thus the History of Kalinga published serially in *Utkala Sahitya* in the 1920s. Another important historical aspect of Das was the treatment of the history of Orissa in the poems of Radhanath. The poet Radhanath Ray had inaugurated a phase of literary resurgence in 19th century Orissa by composing poems containing the ancient history of Orissa. Das wanted to find out the historical authenticity of the characters and events in the poems of Radhanath, such as Parvati, Nandikeshari and Yayatikeshari and strongly criticized Radhanath by stating that the poets who collected materials from Orissa history for their literary creation should not overshadow or tarnish truth and real

fact. He gave emphasis on the history of a race (Jatiya Itihasa) which would always stimulate a race for progress. Hence, its real picture should be outlined by the historians. Thus Das started the composition of Orissa history by a reinterpretation of traditional accounts as well as epigraphic records. Another great historian of his time was Brajabandhu Mohanty[18] whose articles are not available in full form. But in the Oriya weekly newspaper *Asha* published from Brahmapur on November 16, 1931 his article on History and Nationality (Itihasa O Jatiyata) explained the need of nationalist historiography in Orissa. He had accepted history as the foundation of the progress of a race and leading light for the future. He had elaborated that reconstruction was the hall-mark of proper history. He did not accept history as a collection of facts of the rule of kings, the real history being the account of the rise and fall of the popular power (*Janashakti*). This should be treated, as explained by him, as the primary factor for the compilation of history. He had thus connected the compilation of the history of Orissa with the progress of Oriya race and demanded a thorough revision of the textbooks in Orissa for students.

Mahendra Patnaik[19], another writer on the history of Orissa took interest in the proper compilation of the traditional accounts. His most important article was on the determination of the boundaries of Kalinga kingdom which was published in *Mukura* in the 1920s. he had accepted the view of Brajabandhu Das on the role of archaeological sources for the history of Kalinga. He had great interest in the slution of Andhra-Kalinga boundary dispute which would be done by writing the history of Kalinga. The extent of Kalinga was thus a core point in his elaborate study on Orissan history. Jogesh Chandra Ray[20] was a leading historian of the colonial phase in Orissa. His articles appeared first in *Utkala Sahitya.* With a scientific viewpoint, he had delivered an interesting talk in Utkala Sahitya Samaj on the progress of history (Itihasara dhara) on 15th April, 1915. He had emphasized on the scientific study of Orissa history. He contended to reinterpret *Madalapanji* as well as to collect other reliable source materials for the compilation of history of Orissa. He had given some points for writing the history of Orissa. (1) *Madalapanji*, a source material of Orissa history should be recovered from loss and unwanted additions; (2) *Kulapanjis* (genealogical lists) of

the Orissan kings should be collected; (3) the old manuscripts in the villages containing the accounts of the old dynasties should be recovered for study; (4) the temples in Orissan villages should be numbered and studied; (5) the copper plate grants and coins of the old kings of Orissa should be recovered and studied. On the one side he contended that source materials were to be collected and that the evaluation of the collected materials were to be done. With good documentation he had insisted on the analytical study of the history of Orissa. He had also demanded the formation of Orissa Research Society for this purpose.

Chintamani Acharya[21] was a popular writer on the history and archaeology of Orissa. His famous work was *Itihasa Prasanga* (historical essays) published in 1916. It was a landmark in the study of Orissa history. In its introduction Biswanath Kar, the editor of the *Utkala Sahitya,* demanded that instead of compiling a volume on the history of Orissa, steps should be taken at first to write chapters on the history of Orissa and to get them published in different journals. This would lead to a comprehensive study of the history of Orissa. Acharya had several articles on Bhubaneswar and Puri. His interesting focus was on the historical sources of ancient India which had appeared in *Utkala Sahitya* in the second decade of the 20th century A.D. and it was very analytical. In that article, he had given an account of the different sources on the history of Orissa. He had given emphasis on *Sarala Mahabharata, Jagannath Bhagabata* and the *Kavyas* of Upendra Bhanja for using them as sources for a study of the history of Orissa. He had criticized Orissan writers for neglecting to interpret the literary texts for the history of Orissa.

Gopabandhu Vidyabhushan, Tarini Charan Rath, Satyanarayana Rajaguru and Lakshminarayana Harichandan Jagaddeba had given considerable focus on the history of South Orissa. Gopabandhu Vidyabhushan[22] was a famous historian and epigraphist in this phase. His article on the Ganga king Vajrahasta Deva appeared in *Utkala Sahitya* in the 1920s. He wrote the history of the Gangas of Kalinga on the basis of a reinterpretation of the epigraphic records in *Sahakara* in the 1930s. He was famous for his study on the birth-place of the poet Sriharsha and had accepted him as belonging to Orissa in *Sahakara.* His views on the Gajapati Purushottama Deva was based on nationalist

passion. In his long historical analysis in *Prachi* (journal) in the 1920s Gopabandhu had refuted the view of the Andhra historians on the romantic conquest of Kanchi-Kaveri by the Oriyas under the leadership of Purushottama. He depended on *Madalapanji* which he claimed as an inexhaustible mine of information regarding the history of Orissa. Although, he was fond of epigraphy he was biased in his study of epigraphy and was interested in careless theorizing. While analyzing the life and deeds of Gajapati Purushottama Deva he identified him with Purushottama Deva of the grant of the Ganga king Narasimha II who was actually Lord Purushottama Jagannath of Puri. Tarini Charan Rath[23] had his views published in the *Journal of Bihar Orissa Research Society* and also in *Utkala Sahitya.* His famous articles were published on Suryavamsi dynasty of Orissa. His evaluation was based on nationalist temper. He stated in his focus on Purushottam Deva, "The past glories of Orissa achieved by her later independent Hindu kings are still fresh in the memory of our countrymen. Orissa alone asserted boldly her independence for full four centuries after the most of India succumbed to the feet of the sturdy Muhammedan invaders. The last independent Hindu price of Bengal is said to have escaped through the back-door of his palace at the approach of the Muhammedan hordes and taken shelter in Orissa till his death. The Telingana king on a similar occasion suppliantly approached the Orissan monarch to lending him a helping hand and had it. Even the brave general of Emperor Akbar so late as 1580 A.D. repulsed by the Orissan forces, had to turn his back exclaiming at the sight of her network of her grand religious edifices, vulnerable rivers and strong forts. This is the land of gods and no fit subject for human conquest". This assessment by a historian like Tarini Charan Rath was based on the temple of the historiography of nationalist phase which was more based on construction. Lakshminarayana Harichandan Jagaddeba[24], the Raja of Tekkali, was another famous historian of this period. He had widening historical horizon. His speeches on the history of Orissa were delivered in Andhra University. His articles were on the Ganga king Chodaganga, Kapilesvara Gajapati, Vijayangar kingdom in Kalinga and many other aspects of the history of South Orissa. He was a historian and epigraphist. Satayanarayana Rajaguru was a famous epigraphist and his papers were mainly based on

the study of the Ganga copperplate grants and inscriptions and they were at first published in *Utkala Sahitya.* His outstanding essay on the antiquities of Chaudwar had won for him Hindol award by Utkala Sahitya Samaj, it was also published in *Utkala Sahitya* in the 1930s.

Historians like Binayak Mishra, Kedarnath Mahapatra, Paramananda Acharya and Ghanashyam Das were scientific in their approach. They accepted analysis of historical fact after the collection of documents bearing on the history of Orissa. Ghanashyam Das[25] had a theoretical vision on history. In an address in the Utkala Sahitya Samaj, Das had outlined his views on Orissa history and situated them in the wider context of Indian history. He had accepted the views of the English historian Froud in his speech by stating that national pride is an element of patriotism and that the cultivation of an enlightened patriotism is the duty of every citizen. He again stated that patriotism cannot be enlightened without the knowledge of the past and history is essential for the dissemination of that knowledge. In his speech he had appreciated the glorious past of the Oriyas but lamented on this fragmentation. He had emphasized on the study of the complete history of all Oriya speaking areas. He had also assessed the historiography of R.D. Banerji, Binayak Mishra, Purna Chadra Rath, Kedarnath Mahapatra and Paramachanda Acharya. In his address he had insisted on the Utkala Sahitya Samaj to take up the development of a Museum for the collection of materials on antiquities for the historians of Orissa. The collection of old palmleaf manuscripts, publication of essays on Orissa history which had won awards by the Samaj, the compilation of the history and culture of the tribes of Orissa, archaeological excavations of the different Buddhist sites in Orissa and the formation of a committee for the compilation of a comprehensive history of Orissa in the light of the History of Bengal edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar under the auspices of the Dacca University would widen the study of Orissa history. It was his concluding remark.

In the 1930s with the expansion of nationalist historiography, there was an attempt to present an objective assessment of the history of Orissa. The periodicals like *Adhunika* under the editorship of Bhagabati Panigrahi from 1936 and Pragati Sahitya Sangha sought to interpret history from a left point of view. But the horizon was not widened for

them, as nationalist temper was still widespread. Despite that in the 1940s the historians like Paramananda Acharya, Krishna Chandra Pangirahi, Kedarnath Mahapatra, Prabhat Mukherji followed a completely different approach in their study of Orissa history. They had an analytical assessment of the past. In concluding remark we may add the despite several changes in colonial Orissa, the historiography was dominated by the powerful trends of regional and linguistic identity. Orissa history was to a considerable extent imagined and constructed on the basis of several documents.

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Role of Women in Freedom Movement in Orissa: A Historiographical Study

Beena Kumari Sarma

The study of the role and status of women is an important part and parcel of Indian history, be it comprehensive history, covering different periods, or dynastic history or regional history. Though women's studies as a subject of history and research originated and gained importance in the post-independence period yet it has not made much progress. It is important to note that general information on women in the works of modern historian's writings prior to 1975 related only to some elite women whereas the large majority of women and their role, response to changing historical forces have been neglected. Even after the publication of the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women of India (CSWI)[1], when the need to study women's role began, we do not find much information on the subject in nationalist historiography, i.e. the earlier writings on the anti-colonial movement.[2]

India's struggle for freedom occupies a place of unique importance in the political history of the world. The participation of women in this struggle needs special mention. They were actively involved in the nationalist politics from the middle of the 19th century. Right from the first struggle for freedom in 1857 they voiced their opinion and participated against British rule. There is no denying fact that women fought shoulder to shoulder with men enthusiastically in all the struggles launched by the Indian National Congress right from 1919 to 1942. Appreciating their magnificent contribution Mahatma Gandhi very aptly remarked that when the history of India's fight for independence to be written the sacrifices made by the women of India will occupy the foremost place.[3] Further, it has been recorded, "when most of the menfolk were in prison, then a remarkable thing happened. Our women came forward and took charge of the struggle. Women had always been there of course, but now there was an avalanche of them, which took not only the British government, but their own menfolk by surprise".[4] In fact women played their role fully and freely with their male counterparts without any hesitation and reservation. They offered

their best services as dedicated and disciplined volunteers, members, workers, organizers and leaders and made worst sacrifices.[5] Hence, the relevance of the study of the role of women in the Indian National Movement as an important subject of history cannot be underestimated. Although after independence studies on women to some extent enriched Indian Historiography, the role of women in the freedom struggle has not been adequately researched.[6] The Indian freedom movement though is a saga of the great heroic deeds and sacrifices of both men and women, yet the contributions of women have not been properly recognized. Actually when the history of India's struggle for freedom was written, women's participation, their contribution did not get due place. When we go through historical accounts on the Indian National Movement, we can feel that it was a movement of heroic men only.

It is with the centenary celebrations of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) that studies in this area gained importance. To begin with studies published in between 1968 and 1988 do refer to women's participation in the National Struggle for freedom.[7] Most of the works have uncritically narrated the story of freedom movement emphasizing and glorifying particularly the role of elites or a few great leaders and not addressing much the representation of masses and women in particular. Thus on the whole women are not much visible in the works of historians who wrote on the history of Indian freedom movement after independence. These works fail to give a complete account and examine the momentus and spontaneous entry of women and the significance of their participation in the movement.

Moreover, so far there are very few studies published exclusively on women's role in the freedom struggle.[8] Though they are the pioneering works in this field but taken together all such works neither do cover the whole period (1885-1947) nor do focus on all the aspects and all the states of India. All such works mainly have reflected on some important aspects of women's role, viz., (i) women were politically mobilized by the leaders as they rightly realized the importance of women's involvement and contribution in the movement, (ii) Gandhi played a key role in the large scale participation of women in the movement, (iii) women who inherited political traditions and were primarily from elite households have been mainly highlighted giving

credit to have first set the precedent for the participation of other common women. While analyzing such aspects they have not addressed to many other important issues relating the role of women in general. Moreover while discussing role of prominent women in different states, Orissa has not been given any place in such accounts.

On the whole to put in simple words, analysis of this area in a scientific, systematic and complete manner is yet to be done. Women's role in the national movement has not received due attention of scholars and historians and thus has remained neglected. In this background when we look into the representation of women in the historical writings on National Movement in Orissa, we find here also women played a significant role as elsewhere in India. They started their political life and career being initiated and inspired by Gandhi during the Non-Cooperation Movement. Being trained and guided by him they became very active at the time of Civil Disobedience Movement and during the Quit India Movement, their political role and activities reached the climax.[9] Throughout the period (1921-47) they joined in growing numbers both from rural and urban areas[10] and played a remarkable role in a variety of activities beyond expectation of the leaders, public and government. Their multifarious activities as is reflected in the government reports and records and Congress files, contemporary and empirical sources were: they made and sold salt, boycotted foreign goods, picketed before liquor shops, composed and sang patriotic songs, distributed secret Congress bulletins, pasted pamphlets, unfurled flags, raised slogans, formed associations, organized meetings, delivered fiery speeches, held demonstrations, led processions and propaganda campaigns, organized training camps and classes, defied law and violated government orders.[11] But unfortunately such type of revolutionary activities of women, their participation and contribution which provided greater force to the movement has still remained invisible and has received little acknowledgement.

After independence Orissa State Government sponsored projects on History of Freedom Movement and Directory of Freedom Fighters including women which were compiled. As a result, a pioneering work in this field titled "History of Freedom Movement in Orissa" in five volumes was published by the government of Orissa as an effort to

highlight the role of Orissa in the National Movement.[12] For a long time the work was taken as the main source for the subject. However, this work in five volumes covering about 500 pages has not given any space to the role of women except occasional references in two or three lines viz., in total not more than five pages. Similarly the Directory of Freedom Fighters of Orissa titled "Who's Who Freedom Fighters of Orissa" (district wise) in five volumes, though is indicative but not exhaustive about the role of women freedom fighters, as it only provides very vague information not more than five to six lines about women.[13]

Later on during the last decade of 20th century and early 21st century a host of scholars like P.K. Mishra, P. Kar, A.C. Pradhan, K.M. Patro, B.M. Pati and C.P. Nanda using different primary and contemporary sources empirically provided informative as well as objective history about the Freedom Movement in Orissa under different titles.[14] However, while elaborating the course and different aspects of freedom struggle from different angles they have failed to give due emphasis to women's role and response. Most of the above mentioned scholars have tried to glorify the then educated middleclass for providing a selfless natural leadership to the masses but have not given importance to women's leadership roles in organizing various programmes of the Congress, particularly when the male leaders were behind the bars. Very few of them have made references to women's activities in the Indian National Congress's programmes very briefly,[15] and the significance of women's political consciousness and their nationalist contributions have not been properly discussed. Similarly, the recent government publications[16] on the subject under review, have also not done justice to women.

However, it is worth mentioning here about the publication of two works exclusively on women's role in the Freedom Movement in Orissa. A pioneer work in this field is *Role of Women in India's Freedom Struggle* by V. Rajendra Raju. Another work is a government publication titled, *Role of Women of Orissa in the Freedom Struggle*, a collection of fourteen articles by a host of renowned scholars. No doubt the above mentioned works are pioneering attempts in presenting a comprehensive documentation of women's role in the National

Movement for independence.[17] The approach in such works are exhaustive and descriptive, though they are informative. However they lack the much needed analysis and interpretation. They have provided a generalized broad outline of the role of women in the freedom struggle. Though there is no denying that these pioneering works have adequately highlighted the role of women, they have largely touched the activities primarily of elite women belonging mostly to political families who provided leadership to other women. But then what about the hordes of women who did not belong to enlightened group or did not come from Congress people's family? In fact major part of them were from middle and lower class families. In fact the spontaneous response of village women from remote areas of Orissa is a remarkable feature of the national movement more particularly during the Civil Disobedience Movement. The participation of 1500 illiterate rural women in the Inchudi[18] and 500 in Kujang[19] Salt Satyagraha camp and 700 women braving police lathi charge at Iram is unique. [20] So also the response of tribal women is quite noteworthy. [21] Moreover, what about the activities of those middleclass women who were not political activists, yet were Gandhiwadis. Their political consciousness and activities in the domestic sphere was also as important as that of women in public domain. In fact the success of the National movement was not only due to women's public activities, but also for the strong support that women provided to the freedom fighters of their family by shouldering all the family responsibilities in the domestic sphere. The number of women directly involved in the revolutionary movements may be small, but the inspirational support base of the revolutionaries included far more women, who were the invisible heroines of history of freedom movement, who had their own hidden contribution. But it is to be regretted that their names are yet to find place in the dictionaries of freedom fighters and histories of freedom movement as they had no direct participation. It will not be out of place to mention here that barring one Autobiography of Smt. Rama Devi,[22] a veteran freedom fighter of elite group, we know little about the lives, beliefs, experiences or the social background of village women of different districts who joined the movement, as virtually no work has been done in that area.

On the whole, it seems that existing study and research on women and freedom movement is non-comprehensive, cursory, non-analytical and descriptive in its nature. It can be taken as lop-sided and generalized history. Moreover, it can also be said as biased and a "history from above" because in most of the standard available works on the subject, the dominance of elite perspective only is best demonstrated, ignoring the mass of "women from below".[23] It will not be wrong to say that women in history so far have not been made visual through right presentation. Therefore proper reconstruction and reinterpretation of the history of freedom movement with special focus on women's participation and contribution, which is an integral part of it, is now essential. The need is first to eliminate simplistic generalizations that prevail in historical writings on women through micro-level analysis of indepth data. From the aforesaid discussion the following lapses and lacunas in most of the historical writings relating the role and representation of women in the National Movement in India and Orissa can be identified:- Firstly most available information on women's role in the national movement are neither quantitative nor qualitative, neither critical nor analytical. Secondly, most standard histories of national movement mention women's entry during the Civil Disobedience Movement and not prior to that. Apart from this, discussions have mainly confined to the activities of elite women from Congress families, whereas the social life or background of the common women has not been highlighted. Moreover most of the works exclusively on women's role have also ignored the participation of large number of women from the backward classes, who took direct part in the movement. They have not analysed even the support of women in the domestic sphere or the invisible participation of those women who provided greater force through pen. Last but not the least scholars while examining women's role, have not given much needed attention to analyse the perceptions and implications of the spontaneous upsurge of political activity by women of all classes during the national movement, more particularly after the Non-cooperation movement.

Therefore in order to examine women's role in the national movement in right perspective, there is the need of getting satisfactory answer to many questions concerning the subject (1) What were the

causes or motivation factors of women's entry in large numbers in the national movement? (2) Was the participation general or spontaneous? In this context it is to be mentioned that many historians have maintained that women's response against imperialism was dictated, guided and manipulated by men. But there is ample evidence to show that once motivated and mobilized women always moved on their own acquiring self confidence and articulating new priorities without male direction. (3) What was the social composition and economic background of the participants? (4) What was the perception of women about nationalism and national movement? (5) Was their participation only for national liberation or also for their own emancipation? The opinion of some historians in this regard i.e. women participated in the national movement in their own interest for their own liberation is not tenable. History testifies the fact that women react to national problems and crisis more spontaneously than to routine politics.[24] In fact they always placed national interest at the top of their priorities. (6) What changes were brought in their social and family life due to this participation? (7) What was the perception of male leadership and level of male encouragement regarding the participation of women in the national movement?

Thus, it is not just their inadequate representation as subjects of history in general or their invisibility as important participants in the history of national movement in particular that we need to take cognizance of, but we should also remove those misconceptions and misinterpretations relating women and their role before we attempt to assign them their due place in history. Now it is pertinent to point out that historiography on National Movement in Orissa demands indepth study of participation of the people in general and women in particular. Although there are some accounts of the freedom movement that mention the role of women but few of them do so with specificity. Nature of the participation of women needs to be specifically emphasized. Therefore old patterns and perceptions on the study of the national movement need to be revised and changed in order to maintain balance.

To conclude, there is no dearth of source materials to write about women and their contributions, most visible and remarkable. Only there is unevenness of materials in terms of regions and different periods. The sources are varied and scattered. For a proper understanding of the problem and right presentation of women's role and response, collection of multiplicity of source materials, published and unpublished are required. Apart from the already utilized source materials from the government documents which form a major source of information secret police and intelligence reports so far have not been properly analysed and therefore are to be thoroughly examined. AICC files, UPCC and DCC files and proceedings of Utkal Union Conference form another important source. Many private collections, correspondences, particularly letters from political leaders including Gandhi to women,[25] which are still not open to scholars are to be utilized. Some references to a number of women freedom fighters of Orissa are scattered in miscellaneous sources all over India as well as in works on and of Gandhi.[26] Other important source of information are to be found in the autobiographies, books, speeches, essays and poetry of women freedom fighters as well as other such women writers. Another rewarding source is regional literature of Gandhian era reflecting on perceptions and responses of society and family towards the participation of women. Moreover the journals of women's organizations and proceedings of women's associations in Orissa as well as other associations of the contemporary period can also be best used. Apart from all this one must take use of unconventional sources such as oral narratives etc. Reminiscences of women freedom fighters are to be carefully studied. Though interviews of some women freedom fighters such as Smt. Rama Devi, Sarala Devi, Malati Devi (dead) and a host of others as well as their family members has already been taken by some scholars and historians (A.C. Pradhan and V. Rajendra Raju) who wrote on women's role, but much more needs to be done in this respect which is a valuable source of data. In fact the paucity of primary source relating the patterns and nature of women participation can be overcome by exhaustive interviews with the living women activists, their relatives and associates. Moreover comprehensive study of their biographical and autobiographical writings in particular is also highly essential, which has not yet been done.

Notes and References

1 *Towards Equality: Report of the Committee in the Status of Women in India,* Government of India, Ministry of Social Welfare, New Delhi, December 1975.

2 P. Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress,* Vol.I and II, Padma Publications, Bombay, 1946-1947; Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India,* 4 Vols., (1961-72), Government of India Publication Division, Delhi; R.C. Majumdar, *History of freedom Movement in India,* 3 Vols., Finn K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1962-63; J.P. Suda, *Indian National Movement,* Jayaprakash Nath and Co., Meerut, 1969.

3 The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi (CWMG), Vol.XLVIII, p.III.

4 Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India,* Meridian Books Ltd., London, 1956, p.23.

5 The Congress Working Committee in 1930 adopted a resolution recording its "grateful tributes to the women of India for the noble part they are progressively playing in the present struggle for National freedom and the readiness they have increasingly shown to brave assaults, abuses, lathi charges and imprisonments while carrying on the Congress work", in A.M. Zaidi and S.S. Zaidi (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Indian National Congress,* Vol.10, S. Chand and Company Limited, Delhi, 1980, p.589.

6 For example some such works are: Neera Desai, *Women in Modern India,* Bhora and Co., Bombay, 1957; Padmini Sengupta, *The Story of Women of India,* India Book Company, Delhi, 1974; Pratima Asthana, *Women's Movement in India,* Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1974; Devaki Jain (ed.), *Indian Women,* Government of India, New Delhi, 1975; Kalpana Dasgupta, *Women on the Indian Scene,* Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1976.

7 Some important works are: E.M.S. Namboodripad, *History of Indian Freedom Struggle,* Social Scientist Press, Trivendrum, 1986; S.R. Bakshi, *Mutiny to Independence,* Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1988; Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence 1857-1947,* Viking, 1988.

8 P.N. Chopra, *Women in Indian Freedom Struggle,* Government of India, New Delhi, 1975; Vijay Agnew, *Elite Women in Indian Politics,* Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979; Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, *Indian Women's Battle for Freedom,* Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1983; Manmohan Kaur, *Women in India's Freedom Struggle,* Sterling Publications, New Delhi, 1985; Usha Bala, *Indian Women Freedom Fighters,* Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1986; Rajan Mohan, *Women in Indian National Congress (1921-31),* Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 2000. Nawaz B. Modi, (ed.), *Women in India's Freedom Struggle,* Allied Publishers Ltd., Mumbai, 2002; Rajkumar, Rameswar Devi, Romila Pruthi, *Women's Role in the Indian National Movement,* Pointer Publishers, New Delhi, 2003; Suruchi Thapar Bjorkert, *Women in the Indian National Movement,* Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003.

9 Bina Kumari Sarma, "Gandhian Movement and Women's Awakening in Orissa" *The Indian Historical Review,* Vol.XXI, No.1&2, 1994-95, p.78.

10 Taking note of the fact Jawaharlal Nehru wrote: "here were these women, women of the upper and middle classes leading sheltered lives in their homes, peasant women, working class women, rich women, poor women pouring out in their tens of thousands in defiance of Governemnt order and police lathi". Jawaharlal Nehru, *op.cit.*

11 Bina Kumari Sarma, "Role of Women in the Freedom Movement in Orissa" in *Reflections on the National Movement in Orissa,* Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 1997, p.123.

12 H.K. Mahatab (ed.), *The History of Freedom Movement in Orissa,* 5Vols., State Committee for the compilation of History of the Freedom Movement, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1957.

13 S.C. De (ed.), *Who's Who Freedom Workers in Orissa,* 5 Vols., State Committee for Compilation of Who's Who Freedom Workers in Orissa, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1966-1970.

14 P.K. Mishra, *The Political History of Orissa, 1900-1936,* Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1979. This work mainly highlighted the Oriya movement by the way

discussing also the main cross currents of the National Movement in a limited space (pp.112-135) upto the Civil Disobedience Movement but has not touched in the role of women; Purushottam Kar, *Indian National Congress and Orissa,* Kitab Mahal, Cuttack, 1987. As the period of the work indicates, it does not cover the whole period of the history of Indian Naitonal Congress and has discussed the role of women occasionally but the main role of women during the Civil Disobedience Movement has not been analysed. K.M. Patra, *Orissa State Legislature and Freedom Struggle,* 1912-1947, ICHR, Delhi, 1979; A.C. Pradhan, *The Nationalist Movement,* Amar Prakashan, New Delhi (no date); Nivedita Mohanty, *Oriya Nationalism: Quest for a United Orissa,* Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1982, pp.131-133. In this work the author has briefly analysed the socio-political awakening of women in Orissa during 20th century. Similarly B. Pati in his work, *Resisting Domination: Peasants, Tribals and the Naitonal Movement in Orissa (1920-50),* Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1993 and C.P. Nanda in *Towards Swaraj,* Kalyani Publishers, New Delhi, 1998, have not given any space to women's resistance against British Imperialism which is an important aspect of the study.

15 See Purushottam Kar, *op.cit.,* and A.C. Pradhan, *op.cit.,*

16 There are two important recent publications on the History Freedom Movement in Orissa: (i) *Reflections on the National Movement in Orissa,* Orissa State Archives, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1997, (ii) *Freedom Struggle in Orissa: Nationalist Era: Twentieth Century,* Vol.II, Orissa State Archives, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 2006. Both the works are collection of articles by renowned scholars including one article on role of women by the present author.

17 V.R. Raju's work titled, *Role of Women in India's Freedom Struggle,* Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, 1994, though is a pioneering work in this field and is quite informative, but has not emphasised the significance and implications of women's participation. It is not a critical evaluation of the contribution of women. So also another government publication titled, *Role of Women of Orissa in the Freedom Struggle,* Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 1998, is a collection of articles by a good number of scholars. However it can be said that it is a

historical documentation of the women activists of different regions of Orissa, who committed themselves to the cause of national liberation and it is not an intensive study to record the multifarious activities of women of multiple class and category who were involved in the movement.

18 *Samaj*, 23 April, 1930.

19 *Utkal Dipika*, 14 June, 1930.

20 Home Pol. File No.5/62/1932.

21 J.K. Baral and B.K. Mishra, "The Role of Tribal Women of Koraput District in the Freedom Movement" in *Reflections on the National Movement in Orissa*, Orissa State Archives, pp.199-207.

22 Rama Devi Choudhury, *Jeevan Pathe* (Oriya), Grantha Mandir, Cuttack, 1984.

23 Rajani Alexander, "Participation and Perception: Women and the Indian Independence Movement" in *Samya Sakti*, Vol.I, No.2, pp.1-5.

24 Vijay Agnew, *op.cit.*, See, Preface, X.

25 There are many letters written by Gandhi to Rama Devi, Sarala Devi and Malati Devi and vice-versa.

26 *The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, Vols. 1 to 90.

Freedom Movement in Orissa: A Historiographical Note

Subash Chandra Padhy

The academic debate on Resistance Movement and Freedom Movement in India at national and regional level have been surfaced during the movement and afterwards. The perceptions or conceptual frameworks of different phases of the movement are lebelled under imperialist view[1], nationalist approach[2], the Marxist Historiography[3], the communal critique[4], views of Cambridge school[5], post 1947 Marxists view[6], the subaltern school[7] and critique out side any school etc.[8] At the national level works on freedom movement are quite exhaustive and it requires now a more indepth study at the regional level. At the regional level in Orissa, though much work has not been done, during last thirty five years, scholars have tried to find out the different aspects of freedom movement.[9] This paper is an attempt to present an outline of each published work more particularly on the works written in English language. However, a list of works in Oriya language is also prepared for future analysis.

Scholars of Orissa on Freedom Movement

H.K. Mahatab, a freedom fighter and politician but never a professional historian, contributed substantially to the Orissan historiography including works on Freedom Movement in Orissa. His *History of Orissa*, Vol.II (Lucknow, 1949) has thrown a flood of light on the economic, administrative and political condition under the British rule including the Paik Rebellion of 1817. Though the methodology is poor, considering its limitations in time and scope, this must be acknowledged as a good beginning. The other work *The Beginning of the End* (Cuttack, 1972) has got the great historical value. It is a well documented work on the integration of twenty-six feudatory states with Orissa province. Many leading historians have used it as a source book. This has established Mahatab as a leading historian. His autobiography in Oriya *Sadhanara Pathe* (Cuttack, 1979), is of great value for historical details and lucidity. It narrates the history of the freedom movement till the attainment of freedom. From no quarter till date there

has been any criticism to this autobiography. He has stressed more to historical events and political developments. For writing on contemporary history of Orissa, this would serve as an original source of authentic data. The most important work that he edited as Chief Editor, *History of the Freedom Movement in Orissa* (Cuttack, 1957) which explains how the revolt of 1857 sounded the first war cry and has analysed the causes of popular discontent as well as the rise of national consciousness. He also explains why there was no impact of 1857 in Orissa as the early resistance were ruthlessly suppressed by the British. In his opinion the real movement started after 1920.

The editing and compiling work was done by S.C. De, Prabhat Mukherjee, Sudhakar Patnaik for four volumes touching the history of movement from 1857 to 1947.

Purusotam Kar's Indian National Congress 1885-1936 (Cuttack, 1987), a work based on original source material and oral history. For this work he had conducted interview with H.K. Mahatab and S.S. Mohapatra. The non-cooperation movement and civil disobedience programme of the Indian National Congress brought about national awakening in Orissa and the author concludes, "Political awakening in Orissa had permeated to different levels among kishans, labourers, students, uneducated common men, rich and poor and above all the people of the princely states".[10]

Sushil Chandra De, who worked as an Archivist, provided enough scope for research on Orissan History through his two important guide books. He assisted H.K. Mahatab's project on compiling the History of Freedom Movement in Orissa Vol.II. He has compiled *Guide to Orissan Records* – A Catalogue of reference for correspondences available in State Archive, Bhubaneswar for locating such materials. His other works *Trend of Political Events in Orissa* (Cuttack, 1966) and *Who's Who of Freedom Movement in Orissa* in 5 Volumes (Bhubaneswar, 1969-70) have substantially earmarked the players of freedom movement in Orissa. Any body who intends to work on freedom movement in Orissa must look into De's work as a source. Ofcourse, many other names have already come up during recent years to include in the list.

Prabhat Mookherjee has thrown light on unknown and forgotten Oriya Nationalist who became martyr in 19th century. His *History of Freedom Movement in Orissa*, Vol.II (Cuttack, 1955) and History of Orissa, Vol.VI (Utkal University Project, Bhubaneswar, 1964) have amply proved that he was not only an expert on the early history of Orissa but a good compiler and contributor to modern history of Orissa during 19th century. As a research work, these are well documented and based on archival sources.

Manmathnath Das an eminent historian of Orissa has worked extensively on Indian history. His edited volume entitled, *Sidelights on History and Culture of Orissa*, (Cuttack, 1978) held the centre stage of Orissan historiography which contained number of article on Freedom Movement out of total sixty six articles.

Kishori Mohan Patra is another important scholar on Orissan History whose contribution on Freedom Movement is substantial. His *Orissa under the East India Company 1803-1857* (New Delhi, 1971) though an integrated account of administrative history has contained the early resistance to imperialism. *Orissa State Legislative and Freedom Struggle 1912-1947* (New Delhi, 1979) is another important work which contain the analytical study of the course of events. It was a project work of Indian Council of Historical Research. *An Advanced History of Orissa* (New Delhi, 1997) co-authored with Badita Devi deals with modern period. This is a text book which contained a clear picture of freedom movement in Orissa. This was a matured work of the scholars.

Karuna Sagar Behera, a senior researcher of the state and an expert on ancient and medieval period has also touched upon this aspect of Orissan history in his *Glimpses of Freedom Struggle in Orissa* (1985).

Prasan Kumar Mishra took a bold step in publishing his first work which reconstructed the movements in states. *Political Unrest in Orissa in the 19th Century* (Calcutta, 1983) is a detailed account of movements in Garjat States against Imperialism. It deals with various popular risings from Khurda Rebellion of 1817 to the Ranpur disturbance of 1844. The author has made substantial use of original sources. His *Studies in National Movement in India* (Co-Editor) is another important work on freedom movement which contained nineteen papers by senior researchers who have touched upon the role peasants, workers and women in the national movement.

Atul Chandra Pradhan, a senior faculty of Utkal University and a leading researcher on Modern Indian History has touched upon the different dimensions of freedom movement. His *The National Movement in a Regional Setting (1920-1934)*, Delhi, 1992 is a well-researched book. But before the publication of this work, Professor Pradhan has ventilated his interpretation in numerous papers in different journals and proceedings of seminar and conference.[11]

Subash Chandra Padhy's *British Relation with Chiefs and Rajas of Orissa 1803-1858* (Calcutta, 1983) throws light on the early resistance to Imperial Penetration in Princely States of Orissa. Besides, his *Freedom Movement: Prelude to Sequel* (Bhubaneswar, 2001) contained number of research papers highlighting the history of resistance and freedom movement in South Orissa. This work is an anthology of articles focusing on the facts and interpretations of the proceedings of the movement. It also contained two chapters on Peasant Movements in South Orissa.

Bina Kumari Sharma has substantially contributed to the freedom movement in Orissa with special reference to the participation of women. Her major works are: *Oriya women in the Freedom Struggle* (in Oriya), (Co-author), Berhampur, 1990; *History of Indian Freedom Movement* (Co-author), Berhampur, 1996; *Struggle for Freedom in Orissa* (Co-author), Calcutta, 2006 and *Role and Status of Indian Women through Ages*, Calcutta, 2006.

Besides, B.C. Ray's Foundation of British Orissa (Cuttack, 1966) and Baxi Jagabandhu: The Path Finder of Freedom Movement in India, Bhubaneswar, 2003; N.K. Jit's The Agrarian Life and Economic of Orissa: A Survey 1833-97 (Calcutta, 1984); C.R. Mishra's Freedom Movement in Sambalpur (Delhi, 1986); S.B. Pati's Democratic Movements in India (Dehli, 1987); J. Patnaik, Feudatory States of Orissa (Allahabad, 1988); Prabodh Kumar Mishra's Political History of Orissa (Delhi, 1979) and edited work, Cultural, Tribal History and Freedom Movement (Delhi, 1987); S. Pradhan's Agrarian and Political Movements: States of Orissa 1931-49 (Delhi, 1986); N.K. Sahu and S.C. Dey's Who's Who of Freedom Workers in Orissa (Bhubaneswar, 1967); Biswasmoy Pati's Resisting Domination: Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa (1920-1950), New Delhi, 1993; Nivadita

Mohanty's Oriya Nationalism: Quest for a United Orissa (New Delhi, 1984); A.C. Pradhan and A.K. Patnaik (Eds.), Peoples Movement in Orissa during the Colonial Era (Bhubaneswar, 1994); Chandi Prasad Nanda's Towards Swaraj (New Delhi, 1998); Radhanath Rath's The Story of Freedom Movement in Orissa State, (Cuttack, 1964); P.K. Pradhan's Gandhian Rise to Power (New Delhi, 1998) have substantially contributed in enriching the history of freedom movement in Orissa.

Anti-Feudal Literature in Oriya

To begin with the work of Gopabandhu Das's 'Bandira Atmakatha (A Prisoner's Story) in Oriya reflects the humanitarian concern for the peasants. We get a vivid description of the miseries and suffering of Kanika peasants who revolted ruing 1921-22.[12] This work presented Gopabandhu as a social critic so far as conditions of the peasants are concerned. The literature of the 1930's have ventilated more forcefully the peasants and their plights. Kalindi Charan Panigrahi's '*Matira Manish*' (The simple man), Fakir Mohan Senapati's '*Chamana Athaguntha*' focus the deeper problem of peasant. Ram Prasad Singh's '*Pratihinsha*' (vengeance) and *Homasikha* (ordeal) have revealed the conditions of peasants in a princely state of Orissa and the authoritarian feudal structure. His works demonstrate the link between the feudal enclaves and colonialism.[13] Another prominent writer of the time was Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi, brother of Kalindi Charan Panigrahi with a short literary career brought the peasant and tribal issues in the most sensitive way. His short stories which portray the peasant problems include '*Armbha O Sesha*' (beginning and the end, 1934), '*Hatudi O Da*' (Hammer and Sickle, 1936) and '*Sikar*' (the Hunt, 1936). These works present the peasants not as a passive victims of destiny but those who could think and react. They articulate the exploitation of landlords and moneylenders. At the same pace, works of Sachidananda Routay have forcefully depicted the peasant's cause. Those include, '*Anguthi*' (finger, 1937), '*Raja Pua*', (Prince, 1940) and '*Andharua*' (Darkness, 1940).[14]

Another important writer was Banchanidhi Mohanty who had an active role in anti-imperialist struggle and associated with theatre. His songs exposed the oppression perpetuated by the ruler. He said that there is no meaning of political freedom if it does not address the issue of the

peasants.[15] Kuntala Kumari's '*Krushak Pua*' (son of the peasant, 1936) and '*Garhjat Krushak*' (The Peasant of the Princely States) are two important poems which demonstrate the extent of her concern for the peasants cause.

Thus, the above works of 1930s have shown the tremendous influence of peasant struggle of the period. The host of above writers emerged as important social critics and for the cause of the peasants.

In addition, following Oriya works have also touched both aspects: S. Baliar Singh, *Ranpur Bidroha*, (Cuttack, 1985); G.D. Behera, *Kanika Biplaba* (Balasore, 1987); B.K. Dhal, *Biplab Nahin* (Bhubaneswar, 1980); S.N. Diwedi, *August Biplab* (Cuttack, 1989); Raj Guru, *Agni Path* (Cuttack, 1985); B. Kanungo (i) *Bandh Tumo Pedhi Putola* (Cuttack, 1983) (ii) *Dariya Dakhal* (Cuttack, 1983) (iii) *Laban Satyagrah* (Bhubaneswar, 1986); A. Mishra, *Talcher Andolan* (Talcher, 1986); B.R. Mohanty (i) *August Biplaba* (Cuttack, 1962) (ii) *Orissa Andolanara Itihasa* (Cuttack, 1988) (iii) *Swadhinata Sangram O Orissa* (Cuttack, 1978); D.K. Panda, *Mukti Sangram Jaleswar* (Balasore, 1985); B. Panda, *Mukti Sangram O Orissa, 1803-1938* (Jagatsinghpur, 1979); H.K. Patnaik, *Dhenkanal Andolana* (Dhenkanal, 1983); J. Pattnaik, *Raktatirtha Eram O Swadhinata Sangrama Eka Marmantuda Adhya* (Cuttack, 1986); N. Pattnaik, *Swadhinata Andolanare Orissa Adivasi O Saheed Lakshman Nayak* (Bhubaneswar, 1990); S.N. Patnaik, *Orissare Swadhinata Andolana* (Cuttack, 1972); R.C. Ram, Sangrami (Cuttack, 1986); P.T. Singh, *Swadhinata Samgramare Banara Sena* (Cuttack, 1986); P.M. Pradhan, *Mukti Patha Sainika*, Part I & II, (Cuttack, 1972); Chandra Sekhar Mohapatra, *Swadhinata Sangram O Pandit Gopabandhu*; G.N. Mohanty, *Dhuli Matir Santh* (Biography of Gopabandhu Choudhury), (Cuttack, 1985); F.M. Senapati, *Atmajivani* (Cuttack, Reprint, 1963); Rama Devi, *Jeebanpathe* (An Autobiography), (Cuttack, 1984) and N. Routray, *Smruti O Anubhuti* (Cuttack, 1985).

Discussion

This is a fact that since independence many suppressed or unknown facts of freedom movement have come to light and yet certain more facts of the subjects are still to be explained unearthed. The above mentioned works have definitely strengthened the history of a region for its role in the freedom movement. Secondly, we find virtually there is no

bias but some times our interpretation do not take note of mis-presentation or some superficial observations. The true character can be correctly judged by bringing to light the role of common people at the grassroots level.

The need for deepening our understanding is not only we use materials available at state archives and library in India and outside but also to follow the other social science research methodology including oral history. This will definitely enrich our knowledge in freedom movement.

Historical research constitute (i) addition of new data, (ii) new interpretation of the known data, (iii) subordination of data to ideology which should have been the guideline of scholars. Scholars should have taste for the subject and use their intellectual caliber. But many a times the personal honesty of the scholar is doubted while borrowing facts. Same facts are being repeated over the years. In comparing works on freedom movement of our neighbouring states, we are lagging behind. Secondly, we do not find any comparative work from one region to another. While presenting the published works, one should try to give constructive criticism and scientific analysis to reach towards absolute truth..

There may be many other works, which are missed unintentional.

Notes and References

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- ⇨ Participation in Revolt of 1857 – Role of Surendra Sai and others
- ⇨ Keonjhar Uprising (1867-68 and 1891-93)
- ⇨ Nayagarh Uprising
- ⇨ Baud Uprising
- ⇨ Mayurbhanj Uprising
- ⇨ Nilgiri Uprising
- ⇨ Khandapada Uprising
- ⇨ Saraikala and Kharsuan Uprising
- ⇨ Uprising in Princely States (Athamalik, Narasinghpur, Dasapalla, Athagada, Kalahandi, Sonepur and Gangpur).

II. National Movement in 20th Century

- ⇨ Indian National Congress and Orissa during pre-Gandhian Era.
- ⇨ Non Cooperation Movement in Orissa
- ⇨ Swarajist
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- ⇨ Oriya Movement and National Consciousness and Outlook
- ⇨ Prajamandal Movement in Princely States (1937-39)
- ⇨ Individual Civil Disobedience Movement and Orissa

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Orissan Historiography in Post-Independence Era: An Overview

Atul Chandra Pradhan

The creation of the State of Orissa on the basis of linguistic identity and cultural heritage, and the establishment of a University for the State, which was one of the demands of Utkal Sammilani and named as Utkal, one of the ancient names of coastal Orissa, east of the Mahanadi are automatically linked up with the writing of a comprehensive history of Orissa. Orissa History Congress, primarily concerned, as it is, with researches in Orissan history, has come up in that chain of events. Way back in 1944 the Academic Council of Utkal University constituted a five-member committee to compile a history of Orissa. But this committee prepared a scheme, which was not acted upon. In 1954 Utkal University appointed a five-member editorial board to work out the project, titled "Utkal University History of Orissa". In this committee Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab who was the then Governor of Bombay was the only non-academic but leading member. The committee was reorganised in May 1959 with Dr. Mahtab, the Chief Minister of Orissa as Chairman, and Dr. Pranakrushna Parija, the Vice Chancellor of Utkal University as Vice Chairman.[1] The periodisation of the project was revised from time to time. As pointed out by Dr. N.K. Sahu, "Utkal University History of Orissa" was finally decided to be written in seven volumes, as given below[2]:

Vol. I - From earliest time to 500 A.D.

Vol. II- From 500 A.D. to 1110 A.D.

Vol. III-From 1110 A.D. to 1435 A.D.

Vol. IV- From 1435 A.D. to 1568 A.D.

Vol. V -From 1568 A.D. to 1803 A.D.

Vol. VI-From 1803 A.D. to 1901 A.D.

Vol. VII -From 1901 A.D. to 1948 A.D.

Of the above seven volumes, Volume-I, mostly written by Dr. Nabin Kumar Sahu and Vol.VI, written by Prof. Prabhat Mukherji were published in 1964. The first chapter in Vol.I with appendix and bibliography has been contributed by Dr. G.C. Mahapatra. It is a pity that the remaining five volumes of the project could not be brought out due to lack of initiative and coordination at some stage. Financial crunch

would certainly not be a hindrance to the completion of this project of national importance. If fresh attempts are made to revive and complete the project, two more volumes should be added; there should be a volume on pre-historic Orissa in view of the fact that Orissa has a large tribal population and that many pre-historic sites have been surveyed and discovered in recent years; as more than sixty years has passed since 1947, a volume on post-independence Orissa may be added to the project. We need some initiative and logistic drive to complete this project, which is long overdue.

Publication of History of Freedom Movement in Orissa in four volumes in 1957 (In January 1959 Vol. V was published as a supplement to Vol. IV) is a significant achievement in Orissan historiography. Dr. H.K. Mahtab, the then Chief Minister of Orissa was the kingpin of this project for compilation of History of Freedom Movement. He could however complete this project with the help of Professor Ghanashyam Das, Sudhakar Patnaik, Professor Prabhat Mukherji and Sushil De. Data on freedom movement, which were collected from government offices and used by these scholars have now been preserved in Orissa State Archives. This work on freedom movement, whatever may be its limitations is a pioneering work. Subsequently many scholars have worked on freedom struggle, using various source material - official records, newspapers, private papers, memoirs and interviews and approached the subject from various angles - chronological, spatial and functional, Recently at the direction of Chief Minister Nabin Patnaik, the Department of Culture, Government of Orissa has appointed a compilation committee (Professor Bhabani Charan Ray, Chairman, Dr. Chittaranjan Mishra, Dr. Atul Chandra Pradhan, Dr. Mahesh Prasad Das, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Patnaik and Dr. Ramachandra Mishra and Shri Bhagirathi Mahapatra) to bring out a comprehensive publication on freedom struggle, using the expertise of various scholars on the subject. This committee has planned to bring out three volumes on freedom struggle - Vol.I (freedom struggle in pre-nationalist era), Vol. II (freedom struggle in nationalist era) and Vol. III (who's who in freedom struggle). The committee has so far been able to bring out volumes I and II.

Historical research is vitally dependent on data, provided by the museum, archives and library. A museum is a place where one can conveniently study under one roof the materials and evidences of the past originally widely distributed through both time and space. The Orissa State Museum which originally included archaeology and archives has played a pivotal role in the development of Orissan

historiography. The scholars who managed the museum and enriched it through collection of inscriptions, copper plates, sculptures, ,and palm leaf manuscripts etc. had easy access to these materials and could thereby contribute to historical research. While working as a Curator in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar during 1947-51, Professor Krushna Chandra Panigrahi collected about two hundred sculptures[3] and completed his famous work, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, for which he was awarded D.Phil. degree by the Calcutta University (published in 1961, this work is regarded as a milestone in Orissan History and Archaeology). The Orissa State Museum originated as a museum of Ravenshaw College in 1932 through the efforts of Professor Nirmal Chandra Banerji and Professor Ghanashyam Das. In 1938 the Government of Orissa declared this museum as the State Museum. It was shifted to Bhubaneswar, the new capital in 1947-48. Because of the initiative and drive of Dr. H.K. Mahtab, the then Premier (afterwards Chief Minister) the museum could grow into a full-fledged institution. The museum was housed in its present building in 1960. The Orissa State Museum has nine sections, namely Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics, Armoury, Mining and Geology, Natural History, Art and Craft, Contemporary Art, Anthropology and Palmleaf Manuscripts besides the Personnalia Gallery on Utkalmani Gopabandhu Das. Of the nine sections mentioned above, Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics and Palmleaf Manuscript sections are specially important from historiographical point of view. The sculptures, displayed in three large halls are collected from various places of Orissa and represent various religious cults, such as Jainism, Buddhism, Brahmanical religion and Tantricism. The Epigraphy gallery of the museum contains quite a large number of original copper plate grants, stone inscriptions and plaster cast impressions of the original inscriptions. The earliest stone inscriptions of the Orissa State Museum are the Bhadrakali stone inscription of second century A.D. and Asanpat stone inscription of sixth century A.D., Inscriptions of all the major ruling dynasties such as the Eastern Gangas, Matharas, Nagavamsis, Sailodbhavas, Bhaumas, Somavamsis, Imperial Gangas, Suryavamsis and minor dynasties like the Sulkis, Tungas, Nandodbhavas and Bhanjas are found in the Epigraphy gallery, In the vicinity of Bhubaneswar there are two early inscriptions- Ashokan inscription at Dhauli, and Hatigumpha inscription of King Kharavela which were first discovered and deciphered but Prinsep and Kittoe in 1830's. There is an Ashokan inscription at Jaugada in Ganjam district. According to Dr. D.C. Sircar, the eminent epigraphist, Orissa has the richest treasure of epigraphic records in eastern India. The Numismatics section contain various types of coins, -

Punch - marked coins, Kushana coins of Kayema and Puri, copper coins of Gandibedha, small gold coins called Ganga Fanams, Yadava gold coins of Sonepur and gold coins of Nagavansi kings of Chakrakot. The Manuscript Gallery contains thousands of palmleaf manuscripts in Oriya, Telugu Bengali, Persian, Nepalese and Sanskrit of which only a few have been published. Some earliest and rare manuscripts like *Abhinava Gita Govinda, Bhakti Bhagabat, Paipallada Samhita* and *Atharva Veda* are to be found in the palm leaf manuscript section.

The Orissa State Museum has been built by a number of scholars like Paramananda Acharya, K.C. Panigrahi, Satya Narayan Rajguru, Kedarnath Mahapatra, Sushil Chandra Dey, B.V. Nath, Arjun Joshi and Harish Chandra Das. S.N. Rajguru has edited inscriptions of Orissa in several volumes, while Kedarnath Mahapatra has prepared the descriptive catalogues of palmleaf manuscripts. Both of them have rendered invaluable services to Orissan historiography by their labours.

In 1963 Archaeology was separated from museum. The archaeological survey and excavation, conducted by the State Archaeology department and Archaeological Survey of India and other agencies have thrown light on various phases of Orissa's pre-history (palaeolithic, mesolithic, neolithic and chalcolithic) and early and medieval history. In 1992 Orissan Institute of Maritime and South east Asian Studies was set up to identify and excavate ancient and medieval ports of Orissa, to locate and excavate shipwrecks and their trade goods, explore ancient trade routes in the Bay of Bengal, survey literary and epigraphic sources with regard to ancient maritime trade and collect written and oral folklores on maritime activities.[4] Through archaeological excavations of the ancient urban centres such as Sisupalgarh, Asurgarh, Maraguda, Budhigarh, Manikpatana, Manamunda and Palur have come to limelight. The Archaeological Survey of India has unearthed huge Buddhist complexes at Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri. The inscriptions found at Langudi hill by the State archaeology department strongly suggests that the Pushpagiri Vihar mentioned by Hiuen Tsang was located in this place (as held by Prof B.N. Mukherji of Calcutta University and Devaraj Pradhan of State archaeology). After excavation at Manikpatana and discovery of Chinese coins and Chinese Pottery it appears that this place has been mentioned as Chelitalo by Hiuen Tsang. Archaeologists have now been able to push the maritime relation of Orissa with South east Asia back to 4th-3rd century B.C. K.K. Basa, the archaeologist observes:

"The archaeological evidence of cultural contacts between the two regions include rouletted ware, knobbed vessels, glass beads, semiprecious stone beads, ivory etc. For example, rouletted ware were found at Sisupalgarh and Manikpatana in Orissa and the Buni Complex and Sembiran in Java, Indonesis. The knobbed vessels of bronze in Thailand belonging to late centuries B.C, is replicated in a pottery form known as Knobbed Ware in India, reported for the first time from Sisupalgarh in Orissa. On the basis of literary evidence it was also pointed out that textile and ivory were items of export from Orissa while spices were imported from South east Asia".[5]

The archaeological survey of Prachi Valley, conducted by Dr. Radhacharan panda, Professor Ghanashyam Das, Dr. N.K. Sahu, Kedarnath Mahapatra and State archaeology department (under the direction of P.K. Ray) has revealed the development of various religious cults (Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism) and sculptures associated with them from seventh century A.D. to fifteenth century A.D., "The valley is so rich in antiquarian remains in its varied forms says P.K. Ray, "that the Prachi valley can be regarded today as a veritable museum in Orissan History and Culture through the ages".[6] It is held that Jayadeva, the famous Vaishnava saint and poet was born in Prachi Valley. P.K. Ray observes;

"The Prachi Valley is famous for the finding of Dasavatara images in different places. The finding of Dasavatara images had great influence in the mind of Sri Jayadeva, who propagated the doctrine giving up most place to Shri Krishna as an Avatara. In the theory of Sri Jayadeva, Krishna has been given the place of an Avatara and round him the other incarnations have started. Thus it appears that the Prachi valley was famous for the worship of Dasavatar images in various forms. There is every possibility that the celebrated Sanskrit poet Jayadeva was born at Kenduli at Prachi Valley when the worship of such images were already prevalent in this valley. Though he was a great devotee of Madhava, yet his depiction of the theory of ten incarnations suggest that he gave top most priority to Shri Krishna, who is taken as Avataree by him not as Avatara. There is every possibility that he was influenced by the Vasudeva-Krishna cult prevalent much earlier to that of other forms of Vaishnavism in Orissa. We have already discussed that the four-handed image of Vishnu holding Chakra, Sankha, Gada and Padma may be identified as Vasudeva on the basis of various iconographical

texts. So it appears that the fourhanded image of Vishnu known as Madhava (Vasudeva) was subsequently converted to two-handed image, known as Krishna-Gopinath, which became a favorite deity of Sri Jayadeva".[7]

Orissa is a land of temples. It has more ancient temples than any other province of India. The temples have been studied by archaeologists and historians for the reconstruction of Orissa's past. From fifteenth century onwards Oriya literature started growing through the works of Sarala Das and Panchasakha. The literary sources which reflect social milieu can be used for the construction of social history. The printing of palm leaf manuscripts is therefore essential for the writing of history.

If museum and archaeology have helped construction of ancient and medieval history of Orissa, the records preserved in State Archives (which was separated from the museum in 1960 and housed in the present building in 1971) have been used for the writing of history of Orissa during colonial period and afterwards. It is said that the documents of Mughal and Maratha periods have been lost due negligence. Besides, files and correspondence of different departments of Government, the Archives contains published Government reports like annual administrative reports, annual reports on public instruction, census reports, acts and regulations. Before the creation of the State of Orissa, the Oriya-speaking tracts remained in other provinces m like Bengal, Madras, and Bihar. The Archives has acquired documents pertaining to Orissa from those provinces. The records of the office of Commissioner of Orissa division has been collected from the Board of Revenue. The Archives also acquired the records of district headquarters like those of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Ganjam, Sambalpur, Kalahandi Mayurbhanja, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Balangir, Phulbani, Koraput and Sundargarh. The scholars of Orissa also visit the state archives in Tamilnadu, Andhra, Bengal and Bihar and National Archives of India, New Delhi for collection of data relating to relevant phases of colonial Orissa's history. Recently the State Archives has acquired Home Confidential files for the period (1915-1947), records of Governor's Secretariat for the period (1936-1965) and Orissa Government records for the period (1936-1956). These records will be immensely useful for the scholars working on freedom movement and affairs of Orissa since the formation of separate State. The scholars who have worked on freedom movement have collected enough data from Home Political files of National Archives of India, and All India Congress Committee and All India States People's s Conference files of

Nehru Museum, New Delhi. The State archives has acquired private records from the ex-Rajas of Parikud, Talcher, Dhenkanal, Athamallik, Khariar and Kanika. The Orissa State Archives has collected the following journals of pre-independence period such as *Utkal Dipika, Sambalpur Hitaishini, Nabina, Satya Samachar, Deshakatha, Star of Utkal, Utkal Sahitya* and *Asha* besides the news papers of post-independence period like *Samaj, Prajatantra, Matrubhumi* etc. It may be noted here that Utkal Sahitya Samaj, located at Cuttack has collection of some old Journals. The old issues of Samaj are available only in Gopabandhu Bhavan, Cuttack. The State Archives has published some compilations of old records in seven volumes under the title *Guide to Orissa Records*. Recently the Archives has published two important reports on Lord Jagannath, the presiding deity of Puri, Charles Gromes Report, 1805 and George Webb's Report, 1807.

While the museum, archaeology department and archives have collected source material for research, research has been mostly conducted in the post–graduate departments of three universities - Utkal, Sambalpur and Berhampur under the guidance of competent historians like Professor M.N. Das, Professor K.C. Panigrahi, Professor N.K. Sahu, Professor B.C. Ray, Professor K.S. Behera, Professor Prabodh Kumar Mishra, Professor K.M. Patra and others. In 1958 the Post-graduate department of History was transferred from the Ravenshaw College to Utkal University. In late sixties post graduate departments were opened in Berhampur and Sambalpur universities. In 1996 a department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology was established in Utkal University to facilitate research in the archaeological heritage of the State. Research on Orissan history has been carried on in some Universities outside Orissa and abroad. More than three decades ago the University of Heidelberg in Germany took up a project on Orissan history. Some German scholars like Hermann Kulke and Ancharlott Eschmann worked on this project and did valuable work on Jagannath cult, Mahima Dharma and some other aspects of Orissan history. Ph.D., D.Litt. aspirants have done researches on a number of specific problems in Orissan historiography. Looking at the amount of research that has grown over the years Professor M.N. Das who started the Orissa History Congress in 1969 observed in the nineteenth session of the Congress, held at B.K. College of Arts, Bhubaneswar in September 1994; "Time has justified its formation. Nothing succeeds like success. The organisation has succeeded in removing the stigma that Orissa is rich in History but poor in historical researches and literature. History of Orissa is no longer what it was before and the credit for this achievement goes to Orissa History Congress".[8] It would be perhaps more appropriate to say that the

growing volume of source material and research has necessitated and justified the formation of Orissa History Congress. Some of the significant breakthroughs in Orissan Historiography may be mentioned here - Prabhat Mukherji, *the Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1953; N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, Utkal University, 1958; B.C. Ray, *Orissa under the Marathas (1751-1803)*, Allahabad, 1960 and *Orissa under the Mughals*, Calcutta, 1981; K.S. Behera, *Konarak, The Heritage of Mankind*, 2 Vols., New Delhi, 1996; K.M. Patra, *Orissa under East India Company*, New Delhi, 1971 and Prabodh Kumar Mishra, *Political History of Orissa: 1900-1936*, New Delhi, 1979.

Attempts have also been made to strengthen Orissan historiography in two other directions - the compilation of comprehensive volumes and writing of text books. In 1930-31 R.D. Banerji's two comprehensive volumes, titled *History of Orissa* were published. These volumes were based on the data then available. Soon after independence Dr. H.K. Mahtab published his two volume work on Orissan History. In 1977, on the occasion of Indian History Congress, held at Bhubaneswar, Professor M.N. Das brought out an edited volume, titled *Sidelights on History and Culture of Orissa*. In 1997 Professor Prabodh Kumar Mishra and Professor Jayakrushna Samal brought out *Comprehensive History and Culture of Orissa* in four parts, embodying the expertise of scholars in various fields. Both the edited works are well-documented and encyclopaedic. The following text books on Orissan history written in recent years may be mentioned here :- K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa* (*Hindu Period*), Cuttack, 1981; N.K. Sahu, P.K. Mishra and J.K. Sahu, *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1980, K.M. Patra, *An Advanced History of Modern Orissa*, New Delhi, 1983; A.C. Pradhan, *A Study of History of Orissa*, Bhubaneswar, 1985; P.C. Das, *History of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1997, Harihar Panda, *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1997; Shishir Kumar Panda, *Political and Cultural History of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1999.

In the colonial period, the history of Orissa had been mostly written by colonial administrators and Bengali scholars, and a few Oriya intellectuals like Pyarimohan Acharya, Jagabandhu Singh, Krupasindhu Mishra and Binayak Mishra had also produced some works on Orissa's history and culture. After independence, research on different aspects of Orissan history and culture has been made possible by a variety of factors - creation of University departments, popularity of the subject in Universities and Colleges, growth of museum and archives, archaeological excavations, better library facilities, financial support given by UGC and ICHR and above all competent guidance. But still much remains to be done to improve facilities for research.

On the whole it would not be wrong to say that the Orissan Renaissance which began in the second half of the nineteenth century has now reached its climax. Today Oriyas, particularly the educated among them are conscious and proud of their glorious heritage. While modernising themselves, the Oriyas are trying to revive their old culture and appreciate its inner spirit and beauty. This is seen in case of Orissi dance, music and sculpture and Oriya literature. The Oriya choreographers have revived the almost forgotten dance form of Orissa by observing the postures of sculptures on the body of temples, and the Odissi dancers are dancing to the tune of songs, composed by the Sanskrit poet Jayadev, and classical Oriya poets like Banamali, Upendra Bhanja, Baladev Rath and Gopalkrushna. Some sculptors are carving out stone images on the model of the various postures in the temples. The union of old and new is best seen in Bhubaneswar, the present capital of Orissa, which was once Ashoka's Tosali and Kharavela's Kalinganagari, and continues to be as before the great centre of Saivism with its old temples. While the old and new have met, the old (re-created) has been somewhat de-contextualised. For example the Odissi dance and music are now being performed in modern auditoriums rather than temples, their traditional seat.

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